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ART. I.—THE SURVEYS OF INDIA.

A Memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890. By CHARLES E. D. BLACK, London (Constable). 1891.

STATISTICAL examination of its territories and people is one of the first and most important duties of a nation, and to none has the obligation lain closer than to the masters of India. For the physical conditions of the country, which embrace every variety of soil and climate, from the torrid deserts of Rajputana and the teeming alluvia of Bengal, to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, made it a matter of prime and vital necessity that this vast area, with its heterogeneous races and varied products, should be thoroughly well explored by those to whom its destinies were entrusted. And to our national credit be it said that it was not long before we took steps to organise a scheme for the purpose. It was in the year 1800 that Major Lambton, of His Majesty's 33rd Regiment, conceived the idea of a "Mathematical and Geographical Survey"; and, thanks to the enlightened support of Colonel Wellesleyafterwards Duke of Wellington-this project was sanctioned and set on foot in Southern India. Lambton's plan was "to determine the exact positions of all the great objects that appeared best calculated to become permanent geographical marks, to be hereafter guides for facilitating a general survey of the peninsula;" and, through all the vicissitudes of wars, external and internal, of famine and pestilence, of times of pressure and times of plenty, this great organisation, often checked in growth through necessities of administration, but now wholly suspended, proceeded steadily to its conclusion in 1882, when the great fabric of triangulation commenced by Lambton, and extendng from Kurrachee to Calcutta and Rangoon, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, was finally closed on to a base-line of verification in Mergui, near the Southern extremity of Tenaserim.

VOL. XCV.]

This huge network of measurements was a necessary accompaniment to the detailed work of mapping, in order to secure exactitude of position. But, even before triangulation was begun, officers and civilians had taken the opportunity, in the course of their journeys to and fro, to map out their routes, and the gradual accumulation of these surveys, some of them of considerable finish and even artistic merit, enabled the earlier chartographers like Rennell, to produce fairly accurate atlases and maps covering a large extent of country. In the course of time, however, a systematic topographical survey of the Native States and the rougher and more uncultivated tracts was organized, while larger scale surveys were made by the Revenue Department of the richest revenue paying districts. These two classes of operations have since covered nearly the whole expanse of British India, while the drawing and printing department at head-quarters at Calcutta has fairly kept pace with the field-work, turning out the maps with far greater promptitude than our own

expensive Ordnance Survey.

But, like our own and most other national surveys, that of India is still far from complete. This is due partly to the magnitude of the scheme and partly to the necessity of replacing the older surveys by more accurate work as soon as practicable. Over and over again in the House of Commons the English Ordnance Survey estimates have provoked impatient enquiries as to the completion of the undertaking. It s some satisfaction to learn from a foot-note on page 230 of Mr. Black's volume, that nearly every European country is in similar plight, the smaller states of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland being the only countries that can boast of having brought their national surveys to completion. It is small wonder, then, in the case of India, when we find that enormous areas—such as the Lower Provinces, Haidarabad, the Berars, the Western parts of the Bombay Presidency and Sind want to be re-mapped on accurate and improved scales, while of Nepal, Bhutan, and much of Rajputana no systematic survey has even yet been made. Consequently Indian financiers must not expect for a long time to effect great savings out of the scanty budget of the Survey, if that department is to be allowed to fulfil its task of mapping out the Empire. There are few organisations that turn out so much undeniably useful work at such a trifling cost; and, while we recognise that the department is small, uninfluential, and consequently an easy butt for financial onslaught, the valuable services it renders to every other department, ought assuredly to secure for it more sympathy and encouragement.

The Indian surveyors, however, do a good deal more than mapping pur et simple. They penetrate into remote and savage

districts where a British officer can rarely venture, and they reveal to the administration much interesting information regarding the strange people and districts it is called upon to govern. The Bhils those wild and uncompromising tribesmen whom Outram was the first to reclaim from their almost primeval savagery and to convert into a useful soldiery, are still full of interest:—

While surveying in the Tapti valley Mr. Graham, Assistant Surveyor, witnessed some extraordinary examples of sorcery among the Bhils, such as walking through and treading on live coals barefoot without sustaining the slightest apparent injury. The officer in charge of the party was assured it was a common practice and frequently adopted by village punchayets as an ordeal in trials for theft and murder.

The Bhil Corps, which has been recruited out of this rough material, is clearly exercising a beneficial effect in these parts:—

Before the organisation of the corps the Bhils trusted no one, looked on all intruders as enemies, and were so incredulous of the good faith of the British, that they had to be paid daily, simply because they could not believe that, if they remained, they would really receive their pay at the end of the month. Now there are always a number of young men waiting for vacancies to be enlisted in the regiment. Desertion is still frequent, but this is partly due to their love of home and the distances to be traversed, it being no uncommon thing for a sepoy to walk fifteen or twenty miles to his home after his day's work, and be back in time for parade in the morning.

Much interesting information of this sort is collected by the surveyors, and, in the event of the preparation of a new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, it would be worth while to make a diligent search through the Indian Survey Reports

whence a mine of rich data might be extracted.

The Revenue Surveys form the principal basis on which the whole fiscal administration of the country rests. In India the Government is the chief landowner; hence the determination of the area of the fields of the cultivators or landowners, with whom, as the case may be, the Government "Settlement" is made, is a matter of prime necessity to the State. The chapter on this subject is rather more technical than the others in Mr. Black's volume, but its importance has been recently exemplified in the case of the proposed survey of Behar, which has excited some opposition among the Bengali landowners, meetings having been held denouncing it on the ground of its inciting to litigation. This, surely, is the very strangest argument ever advanced against a survey. The principal object of such an operation is to ascertain and register claims and demarcate the holdings. Litigation is far more likely to ensue where uncertainty prevails, where fields are loosely demarcated or not defined at all, and where boundary disputes, quarrels over

riparian changes and other disagreements are allowed to develop for want of being promptly and faithfully investigated and adjudicated upon by authority. In the case of Behar a cadastral survey is of special moment, as it will probably be extended thence over the whole of the permanently-settled districts of Bengal, a vast area of which no regular statistical survey has yet been made. When we consider the paramount urgency of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the resources of the country and thus minimizing the devastations of recurring famines, the

importance of the Behar survey will be better realised.

It is, however, in the trans-frontier explorations and travels that popular interest in Indian geographical work will mainly The gradual approximation of the British, Chinese and Russian Empires has thrown into greater prominence that irregular belt of wild, mountainous regions, and their unruly denizens, which girdles the Indian Peninsula from Karachi to Tenasserim. Formerly these border lands were practically unknown, and the tribes which peopled them committed incessant raids on the cultivators in the plains, safe in the reflection that, when worsted, they could escape to their mountain fastnesses and defy pursuit. The long list of petty frontier wars and punitive expeditions tells of the fruitless efforts made, through a series of years, to establish order along the frontier. In 1876 a forward movement was made into the Sulimani range. and Quetta was garrisoned by British troops. then concluded with the Khan of Khelat has been followed by our occupation of various posts in Baluchistan, insomuch that now the whole country, up to the Persian frontier on the West and the Mekran coast on the South, is virtually British. It is still judged expedient not to let the fact appear too obtrusively in our maps and reports, but for all practical purposes, the nominal sway of the Khan of Khelat has been replaced by that of the Queen. A regular topographical survey of Baluchistan has been organised, and sheets on the quarterinch and one-eight inch scale are being steadily published. The late Sir R. Sandeman, to whose unwearied efforts the increasing order and prosperity of Baluchistan are mainly due, made tours into numerous remote portions of this huge province for the purpose of conciliating the local chiefs, and arranging tribal differences. One of these tours, in November 1883, was to the distant town of Kharan, and another more extensive journey, in 1890-91, was undertaken with the purpose of opening up the old Kafila route, through Baluchistan and Seistan, between Persia and India. The disorganisation and misrule of years, had resulted in the abandonment of this important commercial highway; but since we have established a Baluch garrison at Panjgur, cultivation is springing up and order has

been re-established. Between Lus Beyla and Panjgur, the country is said to be more fertile and open than hitherto believed. The superiority of the Seistan route into Khorasan from our North-west frontier has been more recently pointed out by Consul General Maclean, in a report to the Foreign Office from Meshed A camel-load of goods from the Chaman terminus of the Quetta railway, conveyed by this road to Meshed, would take only 60 days, whereas by way of Bandar Abbas it would take 90 days. It may be late in the day to endeavour to regain our former influence in Northern Persia, but 'better late than never;' and, unless we wish to see our last chance vanish of securing a continuous land route and a possible railway between Egypt and India, and a fatal wedge driven down to the Indian Ocean between our Western and Eastern Empire, it is our duty to do all we can to maintain our prestige in Persia. There is no surer way to this end than the peaceful but powerful path of commercial supremacy, and while Afghanistan is so troublous and uncertain a field, British Baluchistan offers a ready and promising opening for such extension.

Attention was drawn last season to the question of extending the railway from Chaman to Candahar, but the general verdict was, that from a political point of view, the project was scarcely possible. It may be remarked, however, that an alternative route from the Indian plains to Pishin will probably soon be available. Fifteen years ago the extensive region between the Kuram and the Bolan, despite of its adjoining the plains of the Punjab and Sind, was almost unknown, while no British officer durst explore it without breach of official order. Now, however, that the Zhob Valley has not only been explored but annexed, and a railway route through it laid out, a valuable line of advance from the Indian plains towards Candahar has been provided, while the establishment of a British Resident in the vicinity of the Gomul and the consequent tranquillisation of the neighbouring Waziris, enables us to command a most important flank route on any hostile force threatening

Cabul and Northern India.

Proceeding northwards and westwards, we find ourselves landed in an enormous region, which, during the period covered by Mr. Black's volume, has been almost ransacked by our soldiers and explorers, British and Native. The wars of 1878 and 1879 between two successive rulers of Afghanistan and the Indian Government, and the encroachments of the Russians in Badghiz, on the extreme north-west of that State, resulted in a vast net-work of detailed surveys and reconnaissances which have illustrated many obscure pages of mediæval history, and practically revealed to us the geography of a country which is

destined to play an increasingly important part in Euro-Asiatic

history.

The surveys carried out during the Afghan wars twelve years ago completed and amplified those made by similar expeditionary columns thirty or forty years previously. They were naturally restricted to the theatre of military operations in the east of the country, and in few instances extended far from the protecting arms of our troops. We must not, however, infer from this that the Indian surveyor's lot has no element of danger in it. Captain (now Colonel) Woodthorpe, while engaged in planetabling in 1879, was the recipient of an Afghan volley fired at him at the uncomfortably close distance of six yards; by which, however, he was most fortunately, unhurt. Mr. Scott, civilian surveyor, was attacked by a large number of Mohmands, and by his gallantry and his vigorous hand-to-hand defence of his little party secured their safety, an exploit deservedly rewarded by the grant of a sword of honour. Another member of the department, Yusuf Sharif, seems to have succeeded in particularly enraging the Jowaki chiefs by the cool manner in which he completed his plane-table work while musket shots were playing about him.

It was not, however, till 1882 that attention began to be directed to Western Afghanistan. The Russian conquest of the Turcoman country, and M. Lessar's roving quest for the alignment of the Trans-Caspian railway, led him to ascend the valley of the Hari Rud and explore Badghiz, a country which, though of strategic and political importance,—adjoining as it did both Persia and the newly-annexed Russian Turcomania,—was practically unknown at that time. In former ages, however, it was far from being a terra incognita. Colonel Holdich says:—

"Evidences are not wanting that Badghiz was once a fairly well populated and cultivated region. About Gulran especially there are the partially sand covered remains of old towns of considerable magnitude and of a system of Karez irrigation that covered all the plain between Gulran and the hills. It is only the long continuance of years of misrule and its position being so open to raids, that have transformed Badghiz from a flourishing district into a grass wilderness, the home of the wild ass, of gigantic boars, of innumerable herds of deer, and even of tigers."

Such was the aspect of the Afghan province which it fell to the lot of a Russian to re-discover and annex for his country. We could have wished that our Government had been far-seeing enough to allow one of their own servants to anticipate M. Lessar. In 1875, the late Sir Charles MacGregor was at Meshed and most sincerely desirous of exploring North-Western Afghanistan. MacGregor's knowledge of military topography was simply unrivailed, and, as he himself remarked in a telegram to the Foreign Secretary at Simla, he considered it "of

vital importance that an English officer should visit that tract at once." Had our Indian authorities displayed only a fraction of the astuteness of their Russian rivals, Colonel MacGregor would have been the first European to traverse this region, and his quick estimate of its strategic value would assuredly have encouraged the Amir to strengthen his hold on the province. But it was the settled policy of the Indian Government at that time to discourage all exploration and investigation of the countries along its borders, and MacGregor was curtly refused permission to travel beyond the Persian boundary. We have no hesitation in saying that, had this distinguished officer been vouchsafed leave to carry out his project, the disquieting and damaging Penjdeh incident would never have occurred, the province of Badghiz would never have been lost to Afghanistan, and the Russian frontier would have been pushed back to a point a good hundred miles further from

Herat than it runs at present.

The history of the Afghan Boundary Commission has yet to be written, and we fear that the prospect of its being successfully undertaken grows more remote from year to year. In its absence, a good summary will be found in the Memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890, a summary srggestive enough to make one wish for more. The valley of the Helmand, the Etymander of the ancients, teems with the relics of past ages, Arab, Assyrian, Greek and even Chinese coins being offered for sale to the officers of the Commission, while the series of ruined houses, forts and palaces near Rudbar is quite remarkable. We hope the gradual extension of our influence on Afghanistan will lead to this mine of antiquities being worked to the profit of human knowledge. The picturesque country around the head-waters of the Murghab and Hari Rud, is remarkable for gorges and defiles of extraordinary depth and gloominess, and one of these (the Hare's defile) was graphically described by Arthur Conolly on the occasion of his ill-fated journey from Cabul to Bokhara, a mission from which he was destined never to return. Mr. Black remarks that Conolly's full journal appears to have been lost, put we are glad to say that there appears to be a chance of its being unearthed from out of the arcana of the Calcutta Foreign Office, and we trust that, if it be forthcoming, its publication will not long be deferred. How many precious stores of information—political, social, historical, descriptive and scientific-might be rescued from the same tomb of oblivion if a learned and sympathetic litterateur were but armed with a search-warrant! We fear, though, that the historiographer, the scientist and the statistician are among the sworn foes of Foreign In Europe, indeed, this normal state of enmity Departments. is mitigated by the occasional production of blue-books, yellowbooks or white-books, as the case may be, a somewhat grudging concession from Omniscience to Ignorance; but in India, where Parliamentary questions, motions for papers and returns are as yet unknown, a rich literary harvest of secret reports

and papers must be accruing for future readers.

The ancient Kingdom of Ghur was explored by an energetic Native surveyor of the Boundary Commission, Imam Sharif, who, in the course of his peregrinations, was robbed of nearly all he possessed; his theodolite was wrecked, his aneroid was broken and thrown into a stream, and his records were carried off. By good luck, however, his plane-table was under his pillow and his complete sheet survey rolled up in his bed, and, these being saved, he was enabled to continue his survey. Altogether he was enabled to produce a fairly accurate map of a large area of country South of Hari Rud; but, between that region and Candahar, the tract of Zamindawar still remains inaccessible alike to the Amir and to British explorers, owing to the

fanatical disaffection of its people.

The surveys made in connexion with the work of the Boundary Commission were extended to the banks of the Oxus and through the province of Afghan-Turkestan up to the great chain of the Hindu-Kush, where the fabric of triangulation was successfully knitted on to the returns which had been brought up the Cabul valley during the war of 1878-79. Further to the north-east, some useful exploring work in the Pamirs was done by Mr. Ney Elias, C.I.E, of the Foreign Department of the Government of India, already known for his adventurous journey across Mongolia in 1872-73, for which he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. Mr. Elias crossed from the plain of Yarkand, by way of the Pamirs, to Shignan, passing by the famous "Lamp Rock," the mysteries of which Captain Younghusband has since dispelled, and by a route which Sir Henry Rawlinson identifies as the famous trade route of antiquity along which the caravans of Rome passed from Bactria, up the Vallis Comedarum, to the equally famous Stone Tower on the confines of Chinese territory. Since Mr. Elias's journey, many travellers—among whom may be mentioned Ivanof, Bonvalot, the Littledales, Grombchevsky, Cumberland, Bower, and Younghusband-have traversed the Pamirs, while military detachments have acted as covering parties to topographers. It is satisfactory to observe that the unauthorised exclusion of Captain Younghusband and Lieutenant Davison has been disavowed and an apology tendered. But it would be idle to expect that the Russians will abstain from ranging over this interesting region; and, now that we have annexed the Hunza valley, meetings between the outposts and pioneers of the two Empires will become more frequent, and, to

guard against possible misunderstandings, some more precise demarcation of the common frontier line, than the loosely

worded arrangement of 1872, is certainly called for.

It is in the records of these trans-frontier operations that the interest of Mr. Black's volume mainly centres, and the fragmentary and still imperfect state of our knowledge of the entire belt of country adjoining the periphery of our Indian frontier will continue to invest the political and geographical researches of our officers with increasing importance. We trust it may be found possible to issue a summary of these investigations from time to time, and so secure a record of them before it is too late. Mr. Black deserves all credit for the industry and skill with which he has marshalled his stock of materials up to 1890, and the continuation of the task, on the lines thus laid down, will prove of profit to the Empire.

ART. II.—TURKESTAN EXPLORERS IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.

THE advance of our knowledge of Turkestan, during the first half of the present century, becomes little more than a record of Russian explorations. Russian activity with regard to Turkestan assumed a two fold form: first, a severe and critical analysis of already existing material; and, secondly, an assiduous collection of new information. During the first two decades of the century, owing to the exhaustion of Russian energies and resources by the Napoleonic wars, active exploration was in abeyance; but nevertheless Russian students made considerable progress in the knowledge of Central Asian affairs.

The expeditions of certain individuals not engaged in scientific exploration also added a few new facts; as, for example, the journey of Goverdovski, who went with a caravan to the Syr-Darya in 1803. The mineralogist Snegireff, who went in search of gold to Tarbagatai, and near the city of Chuguchak; and Modatoff, who traversed Tyan Shan to Lake Issyk-Kul, and thence journeyed through Kashgar to India, furnished certain topographical details; as also did a few merchants who made their way through Tyan Shan and the surrounding regions.

In 1800, two officials of the Mineralogical Department, Burnasheff and Pospelloff, traversed the Kirghiz steppe from Semipalatinsk, and crossed the Kok-Tombak mountains, the Batpak desert, the River Chu, and the Kara-Tau mountains, to the city of Tashkent. They are probably the first officials who have given us any information as to the natural characters

of Turkestan.

They were sent to "ascertain the probability of the presence of saltpetre, and to enter into relation with the rulers of the place, with a view to establishing mines." They describe Tashkent, surrounded with gardens, the snowy mountains of Ala-Tau, the Arys and Badam rivers, and the cities of Turkestan and Chemkent; and record the discovery of lead in the mountains of Kara-Tau. In the limestone cliffs of Chirchik, they found caves and shafts of old copper mines, but no traces of recent workings. The mountains were "chiefly granite and limestone, sometimes mixed with slate and red jasper." On the return journey, they passed through Kara-Tau, opposite the village of Suzak.

In 1811, the interpreter, Putimtseff, starting from Semipalatinsk, traversed Tarbagatai, the town of Chuguchak, Lake Ala-Kul, the River Baratol, the mountains of Kanjig, Lake Sairam-Nor, and the defile of Talka to Kuldja, whence he returned to Bukhtarminsk. His description of the road between Baratol and Kuldja was verified by Mushketoff in 1875. He describes the sulphur springs in the mountains of Ara-San-Tau; of Lake Sairam-Nor he says that its breadth is 15 versts (10 miles) and its length 20 versts; that its water is brackish; and that along the east shore, the road skirts a cliff. In his description of Kuldja, he mentions the presence of coal-strata. For many years Putimtseff's narrative was extremely valuable, as containing the only reliable account of Jangaria.

In 1813-1814, the interpreter, Nazareff, accomplished an even longer journey in Turkestan. Starting from Petropaulovsk, he traversed the whole of the Kirghiz steppe, from Aral to Balkash, and reached Tashkent and Ferghana; he explored all this territory, and amassed considerable geographical material

relating to the former Khanate of Kokan.

About that time, in 1812 or 1813, Mir Izzet-Ulla, under the instructions of the celebrated traveller Moorcroft, obtained the first information about the Terek-Davan pass since the time of the Russian traveller Ephremoff and the Chinese explorers. He gives an account of the road from Kashgar, past Ferghana, Samarkand, and Bokhara, to Kabul. A translation of Mir Izzet-Ulla's narrative was published in Calcutta, by Captain Henderson, in 1872.

In 1819, by order of Yermoloff, the Commander-in-Chief in Georgia, Muravyeff, after exploring the Balkansk gulf on the Eastern shore of the Caspian, undertook a difficult and dangerous journey across the Turkmen steppe to Khiva. He left the Balkansk gulf by way of the Sarebaba mountains, the wells of Tuer, Dirin, Bejdishik, to Ilgelda. Here he was delayed a month and a half before obtaining an audience

with the Khan of Khiva.

On the return journey, he took a more southern direction, past the ruins of the old fort of Kizil-Kal, the wells of Akh-Nabat, Tunukla, and Tuer, whence he returned by his former route. This journey, hardly possible even at the present day, owing to the raids of the Tekin natives, Muravyeff accomplished successfully, thanks to the presence of the Khivan envoys, who accompanied him to Russia. Muravyeff's journey, although not very extensive, is nevertheless interesting, because, since the ill-fated expedition of Bekovitch, in Peter the Great's time, the Turkmen steppes had hardly been visited. His journey did much to correct errors in the maps of Turkmenia and Khiva. Besides this, he was the first to furnish precise data as to the Usboa, its direction and dimensions, and the position of its mouth on the Caspian. Though brief, Muravyeff's narrative furnishes interesting information as to the

drifting sands, and the changes caused in them by the wind, even in winter: he describes the climate and the appearance of Khiva and its inhabitants, with their occupations and customs; he gives us some account of the Sheik-Jeri mountains, where, according to the Khivans, are to be found deposits of gold, silver and copper; and he mentions the presence of lead-mines

and sulphur; but these latter are unproductive

Of all the explorers we have mentioned, Muravyeff is certainly the most important, owing both to the character of his descriptions, and the scanty information obtainable as to the districts he visited, the little known Turkmen steppe. But none of these narratives deserve to be compared with those of the next period, undertaken, as they were, by fully equipped scientific explorers. The first of these expeditions was despatched in 1820, when Negri was ambassador at Bokhara. Negri, the leader of the expedition, the staff-officers, Meiendorf, Valkhovski and Timotheëff, the naturalists, Pander and Eversmann, and the interpreter, Yakovleff took part in it. Negri's embassy left Orenburg, crossing Kara-Kum ("the black sands"), Sopak, Kamyshly-bash, to the Syr-Darya: then, crossing the Syr, it followed the Bokharan caravan route to Jan-Darya, the settlement of Kyzyl-Kak, the spring of Yuz-Kuduk, the sands of Batyn-Kun, and past the village of Kagatan to Bokhara. After spending three months in Bokhara, the embassy returned to Orenburg by the same road.

The results of this expedition were very considerable. The staff-officers surveyed the entire route, and determined five new astronomical points; and, taking these as a basis, Meiendorf made a new map of Bokhara, accompanied by an inter-

esting description of the progress of the expedition.

Eversmann and Pander were the first to acquaint us with the original fauna and flora of the sands, and with the geological character of Kizil-Kum ("the red sands"); Eversmann devoting himself especially to the natural history, while Pander paid special attention to the geology of the regions visited. They both describe the sandstone and conglomerate deposits between Orenburg and the Mugojar mountains, and mention the presence of copper, iron and coal. Pander mentions that the heights of Sari-Bulak were once the shores of a now dried-up sea, as is testified by the presence there of univalves, bivalves, and fish-bones. Meiendorf says that the Kirghiz still preserve traditions of the time when the sea reached Sari-Bulak, although, at the time of their journey, the sea was 60 versts (40 miles) distant. Similarly, Lake Kamyshlu-Bash formerly formed an arm of the Aral Sea. wave-like sand hillocks are the traces of lakes now dried up. The same natural character is maintained as far as Ilder-Tau,

or Bukhan-Tau, where the natives reported the presence of gold and turquoises, the latter finding their way to the markets of Bokhara. Beyond the village of Agetma, whence the Mira-Tau mountains are visible, the soil is covered with shifting sands, almost without vegetation. These sands, according to the inhabitants, encroach every year more and more on the cultivated fields of Bokhara, to the no small impoverishment

of their fertility.

Geologically speaking, the results of the expedition were to arrange the strata of this region in two categories; the first, new formations, such as sandstone, fossiliferous limestone, sand and clay; and the second, older formations, like greenstone, slate and porphyry. While discussing the shifting sands, the salt-deposits, dried-up lakes, beds of former rivers, like the Kuvar Darya and the Yani-Darya, the expedition came to the conclusion that the Aral Sea was formerly united with the Caspian; and the process of drying up, which separated them, is still in progress. The neighbourhood of Bokhara consists of a clayey soil, on which the flying-sands are daily gaining ground: many villages have already been absorbed by the sand, against the invasion of which no human skill is of any avail; Kara-Kul is being covered at the present moment; and the River Waf Khan (Zerafshan), which formerly reached the Amu-Darya, has had its bed choked up with sand.

Soon after the return of Negri's embassy, two new expeditions set out for Aral: one in 1824, in the form of an armed caravan, under the direction of General Shulkovsky, in which the staff officer Jemchujnikoff took part, but it achieved nothing; another expedition, which was organised in Orenburg, in 1825, under the leadership of General Berg, obtained some very valuable results; Eversmann again took part in it, and with him was Volkhovski. Berg's expedition left the Caspian, and reached Aral by way of Ustyurt. The chief result of this expedition was the determination of the distance between the Caspian (Kultuk) and the sea of Aral (Duanankulam), and the demonstration, by barometrical observation, of the fact that the surface of Aral is 117 feet above the level of the Caspian. These figures were calculated most accurately by subsequent observers; but this was the first time the true relative positions

of the Aral and the Caspian were pointed out.

Eversmann's part in this expedition was the determination of the geological relations of Ustyurt, up till then almost unknown. Previous maps had shown a range of mountains running across Ustyurt, while this district was in reality a plain nowhere attaining an elevation of more than 600 feet. The surface of Ustyurt is in nothing distinguished from the surrounding soil. It is probable that, when the Caspian and Aral were

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The results of this expedition were very considerable. The staff-officers surveyed the entire route, and determined five new astronomical points; and, taking these as a basis, Meiendorf made a new map of Bokhara, accompanied by an inter-

esting description of the progress of the expedition.

Eversmann and Pander were the first to acquaint us with the original fauna and flora of the sands, and with the geological character of Kizil-Kum ("the red sands"); Eversmann devoting himself especially to the natural history, while Pander paid special attention to the geology of the regions visited. They both describe the sandstone and conglomerate deposits between Orenburg and the Mugojar mountains, and mention the presence of copper, iron and coal. Pander mentions that the heights of Sari-Bulak were once the shores of a now dried-up sea, as is testified by the presence there of univalves, bivalves, and fish-bones. Meiendorf says that the Kirghiz still preserve traditions of the time when the sea reached Sari-Bulak, although, at the time of their journey, the sea was 60 versts (40 miles) distant. Similarly, Lake Kamyshlu-Bash formerly formed an arm of the Aral Sea. wave-like sand hillocks are the traces of lakes now dried up. The same natural character is maintained as far as Ilder-Tau,

or Bukhan-Tau, where the natives reported the presence of gold and turquoises, the latter finding their way to the markets of Bokhara. Beyond the village of Agetma, whence the Mira-Tau mountains are visible, the soil is covered with shifting sands, almost without vegetation. These sands, according to the inhabitants, encroach every year more and more on the cultivated fields of Bokhara, to the no small impoverishment

of their fertility,

Geologically speaking, the results of the expedition were to arrange the strata of this region in two categories; the first, new formations, such as sandstone, fossiliferous limestone, sand and clay; and the second, older formations, like greenstone, slate and porphyry. While discussing the shifting sands, the salt-deposits, dried-up lakes, beds of former rivers, like the Kuvar Darya and the Yani-Darya, the expedition came to the conclusion that the Aral Sea was formerly united with the Caspian; and the process of drying up, which separated them, is still in progress. The neighbourhood of Bokhara consists of a clayey soil, on which the flying-sands are daily gaining ground: many villages have already been absorbed by the sand, against the invasion of which no human skill is of any avail; Kara-Kul is being covered at the present moment; and the River Waf Khan (Zerafshan), which formerly reached the Amu-Darya, has had its bed choked up with sand.

Soon after the return of Negri's embassy, two new expeditions set out for Aral: one in 1824, in the form of an armed caravan, under the direction of General Shulkovsky, in which the staff officer Jemchujnikoff took part, but it achieved nothing; another expedition, which was organised in Orenburg, in 1825, under the leadership of General Berg, obtained some very valuable results; Eversmann again took part in it, and with him was Volkhovski. Berg's expedition left the Caspian, and reached Aral by way of Ustyurt. The chief result of this expedition was the determination of the distance between the Caspian (Kultuk) and the sea of Aral (Duanankulam), and the demonstration, by barometrical observation, of the fact that the surface of Aral is 117 feet above the level of the Caspian. These figures were calculated most accurately by subsequent observers; but this was the first time the true relative positions

of the Aral and the Caspian were pointed out.

Eversmann's part in this expedition was the determination of the geological relations of Ustyurt, up till then almost unknown. Previous maps had shown a range of mountains running across Ustyurt, while this district was in reality a plain nowhere attaining an elevation of more than 600 feet. The surface of Ustyurt is in nothing distinguished from the surrounding soil. It is probable that, when the Caspian and Aral were

joined, Ustyurt was a peninsula, joined to the land on the Barsukoff side; this view agreeing well with the opinion of

Muravyeff.

In the same year, while Berg's expedition was examining the neck of land between the Aral and the Caspian, Professor Eichwald had begun his exploration of the Caspian shores. First of all he examined Mangyshlak, the western shore of the Caspian; then, crossing over to the eastern shore, he studied the Balkansk gulf, the island of Cheleken, and the mouth of the Uzboa; then he returned by Astrabad and Baku to Tiflis and Kazan. Eichwald recorded the results of a two-years' journey in a large volume containing both zoological and geological information. He found indubitable traces of volcanic action in the Caspian basin; traces of which he discovered at Baku, Tarai, and Tinkkaragon, where he found raised beaches with shells of mollusks still inhabiting the Caspian. The same thing he also observed on the banks of the Balkansk gulf, and more to the south along the whole of the Eastern shore of the Caspian to Astrabad. These are the same indications which afterwards led Pallas to a similar conclusion with regard to the Astrakhan steppe, and from this time the opinion that the contraction of the Caspian area was due to a raising of the land by volcanic action, met with general acceptance.

Eichwald, besides collecting many new facts as to the geological relations of the Caspian, also addressed himself to the problem of the alteration in the course of the Amu-Darya (Oxus). He prepared himself to solve this problem by a diligent study of all the classical accounts of the course of this river, beginning with Herodotus. He finds the cause of the deflection of the Amu-Darya from its old course, falling into the Caspian, to its new course, falling into the Sea of Aral, in the same volcanic processes, which, in his opinion, governed the

gradual raising of the Cis-Caspian districts.

At the end of the second decade of the present century, several very fruitful explorations were carried out in the Ural, Altai, and Caucasus; and, although the immediate object of these expeditions was not Turkestan, still they were not without considerable influence on the growth of our knowledge of Turkestan.

We cannot do more than briefly notice the famous journey of Alexander von Humboldt, who started in the year 1829, along with Ehrenberg and Gustav Rose, traversing the Ural district, the Altai, and the Caspian steppes. The travellers began their researches at Perm, whence they set out for Ekaterineburg, afterwards visiting Central and Northern Ural, and halting at Bogoslovsk; then, returning to Ekaterineburg, they set out on the 11th of July, through Tyumen, Tobolsk, and the Barabinsk

steppe, to Barnaul. Thence the travellers, after surveying the more important streams of Altai, passed through Ust-Kamennogorsk and Bukhtarminsk to Lake Nor, Zaisan, and Bata, and thence to the River Irtysh, whence they returned to Ust-Kamennogorsk. Thence, through Semiplatinsk, Omsk, Petropaulovsk, and Troïtsk, they reached Mias, and the district of Zlatoüst: they explored South Ural, and traversed Orsk and the Guberlin mountains to Orenburg and Samara. From Dubovka they made an excursion to Lake Elton, and thence, passing down the Volga to Astrakhan, and through the Kalmyk steppe they returned to Moscow.

The results of these explorations are recorded in the classic narratives of Humboldt and Rose, each of whom has detailed

the fruits of the expedition from his own point of view.

Rose applied himself diligently to the collection of geological details, and his work, which appeared twelve years after the close of the expedition, is characterised by such care and accuracy that it is still the classical authority for Ural and Altai; but, with regard to Turkestan, he records little or nothing that was not previously known.

Alexander von Humboldt regarded this journey in an entirely different light. He did not limit himself to a mere record of his own observations, but used his journey as the basis for a critical examination of all the existing material relating to the

exploration of Turkestan.

The fruit of this examination appeared in the classical work, Central Asia, published in Paris in 1843, a work which makes

a new epoch in the study of the whole subject.

Humboldt is, therefore, of the first importance, not so much as a direct explorer of Turkestan, but rather as a critic and systematiser of the geographical material amassed during several centuries. In this aspect we will consider his work subsequently,—in concluding the first period of the exploration of Turkestan in the present century, that is, up to 1843, when *Central Asia* was published. For the present, we will leave the subject of Humboldt's journey, to continue the record of exploration in chronological order.

In 1830, Potanin traversed the Kirghiz steppe to Tashkent and Kokan, as an escort to the Kokan ambassadors who had visited St. Petersburg. His narrative furnishes much interesting

information as to the Kokan Khanate.

In 1832, Kaliteyevsky verified the previous observations of Hermann and Shaugin in the Kirghiz steppe. Another distinguished traveller, Karelin, who was the contemporary of Eichwald, should be mentioned here. He was sent by Count Arakcheyeff to Orenburg, in 1824, from which date to his death, in 1872, he applied himself assiduously to the study of the natural

and political history of Orenburg district. His interest in the exploration of Turkestan was evidenced by three expeditions, undertaken with various objects, at different times, on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. The first of these expeditions was undertaken in 1832 with the object of settling on a suitable site for a fortress; the second, in 1834, to visit the Novo-Alexandrovsk fortification on the Kizil-Tash; and, finally, Karelin's third expedition started in 1836, to the south-eastern shores of the Caucasus, for secret-political reasons. Many contemporaries of Karelin confirm the fact that he amassed a very considerable collection of valuable specimens and manuscripts, but unfortunately he left little or no actual record of his journeys. His diaries were published in 1883, after his death, by the Imperial Geographical society, at the instance of Professor Bogdanoff; they contain many disconnected facts of great interest relating to the zoology and ethnography of these regions, with a description of the Southern slopes of the Enezan-Ko range, in which he found traces of gold, argentiferous lead, and iron; but these diaries do little to replace a connected narrative.

Karelin's expedition in 1836 is better known to us, as his fellow-travellers, Blaramberg and Felkner, have published separate accounts of it. Blaramberg's account supplies much interesting material as to the topography of the Caspian shore, the mouth of the Uzboa, and the ethnography of the Turkmens;

while Felkner confines himself to geology.

In 1834, the Russian orientalist Demezon travelled from Orenburg to Bokhara and back. Unfortunately the full account of his journey was never published, although his disco-

veries attracted great attention at the time.

In 1835, Lieutenant Vitkevitch accompanied a caravan of merchants to Bokhara. Lieutenant Vitkevitch had already visited Central Asia, having penetrated to Afghanistan in 1832. Unfortunately he lost his life on his journey homewards, and his narrative was never published,—though Humboldt has noticed him in Central Asia.

At about this time appeared Levshin's considerable work, which made a new epoch in the study of Turkestan. He himself felt the difficulty of reviewing this till then little studied subject, and begins his work with an apology for the imperfection of his results. His work falls under three main headings; the first being mainly devoted to the geography of the Kirghiz steppes, which form the northern margin of Turkestan. He availed himself not only of the published materials, referring to the personal observations of travellers, but also to the accounts which they received from the native Kirghiz; he analysed critically all this material, rejecting everything irrelevant or superfluous. "My rule," he says, "was to invent nothing, and

not to fill up the deficiencies in the narratives, I availed myself of by conjectures of my own." The most valuable section of this article is the historical and geographical account of the Syr-Darya and the surrounding country. The second part of Levshin's narrative deals with this history of the Kirghiz race. Here he has collected all the material relating to the Kirghiz from the most ancient times, beginning with the Greeks and Arabs; and, finally, in the third part, he exhaustively treats of Kirghiz ethnography.

In 1836, the well-known geodetic expedition to Caucasus, in which the astronomers, Fuss, Savitch and Sabler, settled the long-disputed point of the level of the Caspian Sea; proving the Caspian to be 814 feet lower than the Sea of Azov.

In 1839, at the request of the Emir of Bokhara, the engineers, Kovalyevski and Herngross, were despatched by the Russian Government, with a caravan of merchants to Bokhara, to investigate the mineral wealth of the Bekdom. Unfortunately they only went as far as the sands of Great Barsuki, and then returned by way of the fortress of Ak-Bulak. Their information is not of general importance, being almost exclusively geological.

The same year saw Perovski's first journey to Khiva, but the fruits of his expedition were small. The only important result of this journey was the astronomical determination of Ak-Bulak. About the same time Rechenberg and Jemchujnikoff completed the survey of Ustyurt, the territory between the Aral and Caspian Seas: but much more interesting and important is the expedition despatched to Bokhara in 1841, in consequence of the failure of Herngross and Kovalyevski. This expedition had an immense influence on our knowledge of Turkestan, and, not even excepting Negri's, it is undoubtedly the most important Russian expedition up to that date.

The Bokharan expedition of 1841, under the leadership of the engineer, Buteneff, included also the engineer, Bogoslovski, the orientalist, Khanykoff, the naturalist, Lehmann, and several surveyors. This expedition left Orenburg on the third of May, escorted by Blaramberg and Captain Nikephoroff. The former of these accompanied the expedition to the Syr-Darya, and on the way carried out several new observations; the latter, joined the embassy to Khiva; and his companion, Antoff, has given much interesting information about that Khanate.

The Bokharan expedition made a detour from the Syr-Darya, in the direction of Mailibash, and followed the same caravan route as Negri. It reached the city of Bokhara at the end of August. Buteneff remained in Bokhara, but the other members of the party—Khanykoff, Lehmann, and Bogoslovski—proceeded to Samarkand, whence the two latter accomplished an extremely

VOL. XCV.]

interesting journey up the valley of Zerafshan, to the fortress of Sarvada, and Lake Iskander-Kul. They were the first Europeans to penetrate the ancient kingdom of Sogdiana. In the following year, 1842, the expedition returned by the same route.

The results of this expedition were varied and valuable. Each of its members brought back some new details towards the elucidation of the natural character of Bokhara, Zerafshan, and Kizil-Kum; unfortunately one of the most active members of the party, the naturalist, Lehmann, became seriously ill, and died on the return journey, in Simbirsk, in July 1842, leaving his materials in disorder. Lehmann's diaries and collections were subsequently put in order by others: Helmersen worked up the geological observations; Brandt the vertebrata; Menetier the insects; and Bunge the botanical specimens. Lehmann's observations are still of considerable scientific value, as, after him, the part of Turkestan to which he paid especial attention was only visited by one geologist, Barbot de Marin, in 1874; but, by a curious fatality, he also died without having prepared his work for publication.

Further, Lehmann collected much interesting information about Bokhara, Samarkand and especially the valley of Zerafshan, the site of the old kingdom of Sogdiana, with its flora

and fauna.

The other members of the expedition lived to edit their own works. Bogoslovski described minutely the valley of Zerafshan and its mineral wealth. He indicates the site of gold, iron, and considerable deposits of coal in the valley of Fan. Up to 1870, Bogoslovski was the only authority on the geology of Zerafshan.

Buteneff published several interesting articles on the mineral resources and financial affairs of Bokhara, together with a series of meteorological observations, which for a long time supplied our only methodical knowledge of the climate of

that country.

Finally, the fourth member of the important expedition, Khanykoff, published an exceedingly valuable "Description of the Khanate of Bokhara," detailing its topography, natural resources, climatic peculiarities—earthquakes, amongst others,—with descriptions of the inhabitants, their occupations, and so forth. His work is illustrated by plans of the cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, of the antiquities of which he gives much new information, as well as a map of the Khanate of Bokhara. The Bokhara expedition, therefore, entirely revolutionised our knowledge of an important section of Turkestan, especially in its scientific relations.

In 1842, a new embassy was sent to Khiva, to conclude the

negociations left incomplete by Nikephoroff. At the head of this embassy was Colonel Danilevski, with Baziner, the naturalist. The embassy left Orenburg on the fourth of August, and reached Khiva by way of Ustyurt and Urgench. From Khiva Baziner made an excursion to Khorasan, crossed the Sheik-Jeli mountains, and, on the 13th January, returned to Ustyurt.

Both Danilevski and Baziner published accounts of Khiva,

Ustyurt and Aral.

Danilevski's description of the Khanate of Khiva is both geographical and ethnographical; it is based, as the author himself says, "on a personal observation of the greater part of the country; on rough surveys of the roads through the Khanate; and on information collected from reliable observers." Like Khanykoff, in his description of Bokhara, Danilevski begins by detailing the boundaries of the Khanate, with its climatic, orographic and hydrographic peculiarities. In this section, he is the first person who gives a fairly accurate account of the Sheik-Jeli mountains, stretching from the South-east to the North-west. In this range the Khivans quarry a porous marble of inferior quality; in Mahomed Rahim Khan's time, copper was also found, but the works are now deserted. Danilevski gives some account of the irrigation canals, rivers, dry watercourses and lakes. He informs us, amongst other things, of the existence of Lake Aibugir, 125 versts (circ, 90 miles) long. On the North this lake was connected with Aral. This information is very interesting, from the fact that since Danilevski visited it, Lake Aibugir has completely dried up. He also gives us much new and interesting information as to the distribution of the population of the Khanate; of its cities; the occupations of the inhabitants; commerce, and so on. In a word, Danilevski's excellent description has done for Khiva what Khanykoff did for Bokhara.

Baziner published his observations separately, earlier than Danilevski. His account falls into two parts: in the first he describes the Orenburg, and the road from Orenburg to Khiva, afterwards traversed by Colonel Burnaby; his excursions in the Khivan Khanate, and the return journey from Khiva. The second part consists of a systematic account of the Khanate of Khiva, from his own observations. In the first part he gives us much that is new and interesting about the natural features of the localities he visited; their vegetation, wild animals, and scenery. In the second part his observations are more accurately classified. After a general description of the extent, climate, rivers, and lakes of the Khanate, he gives us many new particulars of its agriculture and gardens. Baziner contributed largely to a proper understanding of the geological characteristics of Ustyurt, His description of the tract is

much fuller and more circumstantial than those of Eversmann Kovalevski, and Herngross. He made a large collection of geological specimens and fossils, which was arranged and cata

logued by Helmersen.

Helmersen wrote a very interesting account of this collection, which appears in Basiner's work. Resuming Basiner's data, Helmersen says, that, on the journey from Orenburg to Khiva, Basiner found three different strata: chalk, tertiary clays and crystalline formations. The chalk, with fossils of Belemnites mucronatus and Caloptychium, is found on the Ata-Jaxa river; the tertiary is the dominant formation in Ustyurt; while the crystalline strata belong to the Sheik-Jeli mountains. Besides these geological facts, Basiner also made a collection of botanical specimens, an account of which, along with a detailed table of his meteorological observations, and a map of Khiva, accompanies his book. It is difficult to say whether Buteneff's expeditions to Bokhara, or Danilevski's to Khiva, have given us the most valuable and varied material for the

elucidation of the regions they visited.

At the same period that the expedition of Negri, Buteneff, Berg, Danilevski and Karelin, were exploring Western Turkestan, opening up the regions contiguous to Aral, Ustyurt, Khiva, Bokhara, and the ancient Sogdiana, the Eastern portions of Turkestan, that is the present district of Semirechia and Khuldja, were entirely neglected: during a period of nearly thirty years, these regions were not visited by a single European traveller. After Putimtseff, this part of Turkestan was first visited by Fedoroff in 1838; Asanoff in 1839; Shrenk and Karelin in 1840. The large number of expeditions to the one part of Turkestan, in contrast to the almost total neglect of the other, was probably due to the difference in the political condition of these two regions. Western Turkestan was a more or less perfectly organised series of Khanates with which Russia was in uninterrupted diplomatic relations; from those relations arose frequent missions, adequately equipped, and with excellent opportunities for research and observation.

In Eastern Turkestan, the condition of things was quite different. Up to the Russian occupation, this region was occupied by hordes of nomads, with whom any consistent or lasting political relations were impossible. Consequently, accurate and adequate explorations of this region date only

from the period of the Russian occupation.

Shrenk is almost the only traveller who reached the mouths of the rivers Lepsa and Asanoff, visited lake Balkash, accomplished a considerable journey through the Alakul-Balkash basin, and visited the Jungarian Ala-Tau.

Though, unfortunately, his narrative is extremely brief, it

is nevertheless very valuable. Shrenk brought back excellent botanical and geological collections, which have, how-

ever, never been reduced to order.

Shrenk, after several excursions in Altai, turned towards Semipalatinsk, and still further south to the river Ayaguz. From the Ayaguz he proceeded to lake Balkash, not far from the mouth of the River Lepsa, where he observed two rows of From lake Balkash, he turned to the south, through the Kiskach mountains, in Semirechia. His route crossed a hilly steppe to Kara-Tau, thence, across the river Koksa, he reached the Lobass mountains, whence were visible the mountains of Altyn-Emel and Cholak; thence he worked back to the river Kara-Tal, and further to the northwest, to the warm sulphur springs of Arasan. From Arasan, he crossed over to the Jit-Kara-qai mountains, where the vegetation was rich and varied.

The Jit-Kara-qai mountains attain an elevation of about 9,000 feet. From Arasan, Shrenk proceeded to the river Vaskan and traced it to its source. Here he describes a stream whose course is alternately above and under ground. As he followed this stream, the cliffs rose ever darker and more threatening. At a height of 10,000 feet begins the eternal snow, and this region is inhabited only by conies. He reached a height of nearly twelve thousand feet, and estimated the surrounding peaks of Ala-Tau at about a thousand feet higher. Descending Ala-Tau along the Vaskan valley, Shrenk crossed the rivers Teretka and Tentyak to lake Ala-Kul. His information at this period is chiefly concerned with the geology of Jungarian Ala-Tau. His observations on the banks of Ala-Kul revealed the fact that, quite recently, the level of this lake must have been from fifteen to twenty feet higher than at present. From Ala-Kul he traversed Chuguchak, and thence across Tarbagatai, he reached the city of Kozbektinsk, whence, across Ust-Kummogorsk, he returned to Semipalatinsk. His second excursion was to the mountains of Tarbagatai and Ala-Tau, as far as Takhtifarlyk; and, lastly, his third expedition brought him to the northern part of the Kirghiz steppe, in the mountains of Ulu-Tau, to the river Chu, and as far as the south-western shore of lake Balkash. He reached the mountains of Khan-Tau, whence, across the rivers Ila, Lapsa, and Ayaguz, he returned to Semipalatinsk. In this way Shrenk crossed the eastern portion of the Kirghiz steppe lengthways and transversely, and collected an immense scientific material. Besides his splendid collections, and his remarks on the character and disposition of the ridges of the steppes, one of the most notable results of his journey was the exploration of lake Ala-Kul, and the island of Aral-Tape situated on the lake.

Shrenk demonstrates that this island is not volcanic, as Humboldt, following the unreliable accounts of earlier travellers, had pronounced it to be. Shrenk's collection from the western shores of lake Balkash, the Khan-Tau mountains, Ulu-Tau and others, are even at the present day the unique material for the geology of these regions,—many of which have

never been visited since Shrenk's expedition.

Another traveller, a Russian engineer, whose name is unknown, travelled in these regions during the same year as Shrenk. He visited a part of the Bayan-aul and Kar-Karalinsk steppes, and is the first to give a circumstantial account of the coal-bearing localities, Taldy-Kul, Sary-Kul, and others. He pointed out that the geological structure of the north-east portion of the steppe has a strong resemblance to the structure of the district of Altai, a correspondence not limited to the character of the strata, but applying also to the metals they contain.

At this period, also, the regions of Eastern Turkestan were visited by Karelin. According to Bogdanoff, Karelin reached Tarbagatai, and even penetrated to the Semirechian Ala-Tau, and in 1843 and the following years he made a whole series of excursions in the steppe round lake Balkash, but unfortunately, beyond a few extracts from Karelin's diary, no account

of this remarkable journey has been left.

A short time before Shrenk's expedition, Fedoroff had ascertained several new astronomical points, to the number of twenty-one—one of which was at the mouth of the river Lepsa, where it falls into Lake Balkash. These points were

used by Humboldt in his Central Asia.

We must mention one more worker, who, although not engaged in direct exploration himself, was nevertheless an authority on the Kirghiz steppe, and rendered undoubted services to the cause of Central Asian geography,—this was the president of the Orenburg Boundary Commission, G. Hens. From 1818, for a period of more than twenty years, while he resided in Orenburg, he remained in unbroken relations with the Asiatic merchants and travellers who visited that city, and never lost an opportunity of questioning them as to the countries they had visited. Much of the information collected by Hens was edited by Helmersen, and of this information Humboldt availed himself freely.

At the same time that the expeditions of Negri, Berg, Eichwald and others were penetrating Turkestan from the north, several English travellers—far less numerous than the Russians, however—began to reach the same regions from the south. The chief English explorers of this period were Elphinstone, Moorcroft, Burnes and Wood. Elphinstone, although his

researches led him to acquaint himself with the history of Turkestan, never travelled there himself. Moorcroft and his fellow-traveller, George Trebeck, whose narratives were prepared for the press by H. H. Wilson, after a protracted exploration of the Himalaya proceeded from Kabul across the Hindu-Kush, by the Hunnai Pass to Balkh, whence, after visiting Kunduz, they penetrated to Bokhara; but on the return journey both perished, Moorcroft in Andhoa, and Trebeck in Mazara. Moorcroft's diaries furnish much interesting information as to the passes of the Hindu-Kush, Bamian and its caves and idols,

Kunduz and its neighbourhood.

Several years after Moorcroft, Sir A. Burnes left Afghanistan by the same route over the Hindu-Kush, and, in the years 1831 and 1832, accomplished the very difficult journey to Kunduz and Bokhara; from Bokhara, in the disguise of a Mussulman merchant, he travelled by Merv and the Turkestan steppe to Persia. Like Moorcroft, Burnes has left a circumstantial account of the localities he visited, comprising much that is extremely valuable, not only as to the cities and their inhabitants, but also as to the form and contour of the country, its natural resources and mineral wealth. The Hindu-Kush, according to Sir A. Burnes, consists of several parallel ridges, so that he was compelled to cross six passes, of which Unna-the Hunnai of Moorcroft-is the nearest to Kabul, reaching an altitude of ten thousand feet; while the highest are Hadji-Hak and Kalu, which reach twelve and thirteen thousand feet respectively; while, according to Sir A. Burnes, the snow-line is about thirteen thousand feet, but varies on the north and south of the same ridge. The highest mountain in this ridge is Kuhi-Baba, the summit of which is not less than eighteen thousand feet. Kuhi-Baba is between Kabul and Bamian, and consists of a serrated ridge of gneiss or granite. Sir A. Burnes graphically describes Bamian and its numerous caves, which stretch, he says, for a distance of eight miles. and serve as habitations for the majority of the inhabitants. They are probably the same troglodyte caves mentioned by the historians of Alexander the Great.

As to the idols of Bamian, the largest, representing a man, bears the name of Silval; while the smaller, the woman, is called Shahman. An excellent engraving of these idols is found in the sixth volume of the Geographie Universelle Reclus. The neighbourhood of Bamian, according to Burnes, is rich in various minerals; near Fulodat are found gold, lapis-lazuli, and traces of lead-mines: copper, sulphur and sulphate of copper are also found. Asbestos is found in Jadruan, to the north-west of Kabul.

To the North of Bamian, on the first pass, are huge columns

of granite, resembling basalt; beyond which are light-brown sandstones, lining the pass of Dandan-Shikan or Zubolom.

To the description of the Oxus, Sir A. Burnes devotes a whole chapter. He first attempts to determine its velocity, its periodic floods and navigability; and relates that, in the sands of the Oxus, gold is found, sometimes in nuggets as large as a pigeon's egg. Naptha is found near Jizak, In Hissah is found rock-salt; below Charjuia, two miles from the Oxus, on the right bank, the salt-bearing tract is five miles in circumference, and is called Huadja-qaufi. Salt is similarly found near Kunduz.

During his stay in Kunduz, Sir A. Burnes collected a quantity of interesting information about Badakhshan, which, in January 1832, suffered severely from earthquakes. Sir A. Burnes says that a large number of villages, with their inhabitants, perished; and that the roads were in several places entirely blocked by landslips, and the River Badakhshan was blocked for several days by a vast mass of rock that fell into it. Not less interesting is his information regarding the ruby-mines of Badakhshan. He says that these mines, which have been famous for centuries, and were known to the Delhi emperors, are found on the bank of the Oxus, not far from Shignan, near the village of Haran. Probably the name Haran means caves, or mines, as in Persian. They are worked by tunnels in the mountains. It has been supposed that these mines are no longer worked; but this is erroneous, since the present ruler of Kunduz has undertaken them ever since his accession.

In former times the workers in these mines handed down their knowledge from generation to generation; but recently, when, owing to diminution of the produce, the ruler of Kunduz demanded of them unpaid work, they refused to work altogether, and were in consequence exiled to the Kunduz March, where they almost all perished. In this district the belief obtains that large rubies are always found in pairs; and for this reason the miners always conceal the discovery of a large ruby until its fellow is found; and, if unsuccessful, they sometimes break a large ruby in two. In the neighbouring mines, near the Oxus, are found huge masses of lapislazuli, which are worked out with the help of fire. In early times the lapis-lazuli found on the Oxus was exported to China, but recently the demand for it has greatly decreased. The work in the ruby and lapis-lazuli mines is carried on only in winter.

On the way from Bokhara to Merv, Sir A. Burnes became acquainted with the Turkmen steppes He describes them very graphically. On Sir A. Burnes' book was based Arrow.

smith's map, which gave the first fairly accurate representation of many of the regions it included. After finishing his first journey, Sir A. Burnes decided on a second; but this time he only got as far as Kabul, where he passed a considerable period as the head of a political mission, and collected the materials for his Cabool in 1836-37 and 1838. This journey does not relate to Turkestan, and we have mentioned it only because it suggested to one of his companions, Captain John Wood, the expedition to the Pamirs and the sources of the

Amu-Darya.

Wood was the first European, after Marco Polo and Benedict Hoes, who reached the centre of the head-waters of the Oxus. His excellent description, which was published first in 1841, and afterwards in 1872, with a preface by Henry Yule, created an epoch in the history of the Pamirs, Curiously enough, Wood's fate was very like Marco Polo's-he was langhed at and discredited; and his learned accounts were treated as the fabulous stories of ignorant natives. Yule remarks that it is much to be regretted that Captain Wood thought fit to limit his work to a single volume, as this has led him unnecessarily to condense and limit his material. Wood set out from Kabul, and explored four passes of the Hindu-Kush, returning to Kabul, whence, through the Hunnai Pass, Hadji-Hak, the valley of Zakhaq-which is separated from Bamian by a volcanic wall,—Bamian, Dandan-Shikhan and Hulm, he reached Kunduz. From Kunduz to Badakhshan Wood followed approximately Marco Polo's route, and confirms the famous Venetian's account in almost every particular. Badakhshan is traversed diagonally, from North-east to South-west, by the lofty snow-covered range of the Hadja Mahomet mountains, the highest peaks of which are Kishm and Takhta-Suleiman. Passing the ruins of Faizabad, Wood turned towards Jerm, then the capital of Badakhshan, and thence up the Kochka valley, where there are mines of lapis-lazuli. Wood, besides descriptions of his route, has collected accounts of former earthquakes here, as well as of the mineral wealth of the country. Near Mazara, for example, iron-ore is found; and beyond Ferganna are lapis-lazuli mines, which are famous throughout the East, about which Wood records various facts which he gathered from the natives. Wood was the first and the last traveller who visited these lapis-lazuli mines; and the description of them in his book is consequently the only one.

The mines are found on the right side of the valley of the Kochka, which at this spot contracts to 200 yards in width, shut in by lofty, rugged mountains, entirely devoid of vegetation. The mouth of the mines is at an altitude of some five hundred yards above the level of the river, and the approach

to it is extremely difficult, and even dangerous. The works are carried on very irregularly, and with considerable risk. The main shaft is approached by an inclined shaft, which leads to a gallery eighty feet long, twelve feet high, and about the same breadth. This gallery, which is of slight inclination, terminates in an excavation twenty feet in diameter and depth. The floor of the gallery is so littered with debris fallen from the roof that in some parts one is compelled to creep through it. Owing to this falling debris, accidents are not infrequent; and parts of the gallery bear the names of miners who have been killed there; still no one ever thinks of propping up the roof. The lapis-lazuli is obtained in the most primitive way possible, by the use of fire. The natives distinguish three sorts of lapis-lazuli: nebli, the most costly and beautiful, indigo in colour; asmani, light-blue; and susi, the least valuable, which is green. Along with the lapis-lazuli is found excellent ultramarine.

Four years previously, according to Wood, by command of Murad Beg, these mines, as well as the ruby mines on the Oxus, were abandoned, on account of the smallness of the proceeds. But formerly they were worked industriously, and the lapis-lazuli of Badakhshan was famous throughout the

whole of the East.

From Jerm, Wood proposed to visit a not less celebrated centre of the mineral wealth of Badakhshan,—the ruby mines near Haran, or Kharan, twenty miles from Ishkashim, described also by Sir A. Burnes. But unfortunately he did not reach them. On the road to Ishkashim, Wood mentions iron-mines near Arganjik, and gold near the Kochka and the Oxus. From Ishkashim, Wood proceeded along the left bank of the Oxus to Kandut, the residence of the Shah, Tarai and Kila-Panj, which receives its name from five precipitous hills in the neighbourhood. Crossing the Oxus at Kila-Panj, Wood proceeded by Hissar and Langar-Kash, in the valley of the Sary-Kul, the centre of the Pamir, or, as Wood called it, Bami-Darya, the Roof of the World. Wood was the first to call Lake Sary-Kul "Lake Victoria," in honour of the Queen. From the western shore of Sary-Kul, or "Lake Victoria," flows one of the main streams of the Oxus. The lake, according to Wood's calculations, is in 37°-11' North Latitude, 73°-40' East Longitude, at an altitude of 15,000 feet, and the mountains which surround it on the south rise some 3,500 feet higher, and have therefore a total altitude of about 19,000 feet. According to Wood's circumstantial account, the snowline of the Pamir lies at the tremendous height of 17,000 feet.

From Lake Sary-Kul, Wood returned through Wakhan, Ishkashim and Kunduz; passed through Khazret-Imam,

Khulm, and across the Hindu-Kush by another road, through

the Khavak Pass, and the valley of Panjshir.

Besides his own personal observations, Wood gives much information he collected about Roshan, Shignan, and Darwaz. Besides the fact that Wood supplies much information that is absolutely new, he is distinguished as being the first to comprehend, with some accuracy, the orographic character of Pamir, as being an elevated plateau uniting India, China, and Turkestan. The Pamir, he says, may be regarded as the main focus from which proceed the great mountain chains and rivers of Asia.

Wood's book—which, as we have noted, met with considerable hostility on its first appearance—was only estimated at its true worth some fifteen years ago, since when it has been recognised as one of the most reliable sources of information

regarding the Pamirs.

Almost at the same time as Sir A. Burnes and Captain Wood, Charles Messon travelled in Afghanistan (1832-1838), collecting a mass of valuable information about that country, especially archæological. He also crossed the Hindu-Kush by the Hunnai Pass, to Bamian and the valley of Seikhan. As to the geology of Afghanistan, he adds much that is interesting, but with regard to Turkestan Proper, his work contains almost nothing not already recorded by Burnes and Wood; and the same may be said of Königberg, who, leaving India, reached

Russia by way of Bokhara in 1837.

Other English travellers at this time were Captain Burslem, Captain James Abbot (who visited Khiva in 1841), and Arthur Conolly (who contributed an article on "The Country between Bamian and China" to the Calcutta Review, Vol. XV. After Burslem, Abbot, and Conolly, thanks, perhaps, to the hostility aroused by the Afghan War, no European was able to penetrate to Turkestan for almost thirty years, with the exception of Ferrier who was fortunate enough, in 1846, to be able to travel from Herat through Mingal, across the River Murgh-ab, Maimen, Shibbergan, and Balkh to Khulm; whence, turning to the south by the Khulm valley, he reached Khoram, and thence through Sernel, Singluk and Tserni, he returned to Herat.

Ferrier's account is distinguished by the abundant information he supplies with regard to Khorassan and Afghanistan. Only two and half chapters of Ferrier's work apply to Turkestan Proper, and the material of these is limited to a description of the routes he followed, with a brief account of the towns he visited and their inhabitants.

With Ferrier ends the story of the direct exploration of

Turkestan during the first half of the present century.

Before carrying the story of Turkestan exploration down to our own day, it may be useful to summarise the results of the epoch we have just described. Up to the beginning of the present century, as we have already seen, the descriptions of the majority of travellers who visited Turkestan, although they have furnished many useful geographical facts, are so imperfect, that it is almost impossible to base any accurate account of the country on the information they give. much is this so, that, even the best of them, Marco Polo, was quite misunderstood until we became familiar with Central Asia. The expeditions of the present century have an entirely different character; they furnish us with rigidly scientific material, which does not require any commentary. Besides more or less accurate geographical facts. these later explorations give us a mass of data as to the natural history of Turkestan. We have seen that, almost contemporaneously, European explorers penetrated to Turkestan from opposite directions, the English from the south, and the Russians from the north. While the English were exploring the Hindu-Kush, the southern part of the Turanian plain, the head-waters of the Oxus, and the neighbouring countries, the Russians were exploring Jungaria, the eastern shore of the Caspian, Ustyurt, Khiva, Kara and Kizil-Kum, and old Sogdiana; while both English and Russians entered Bokhara and the southern parts of Khiva.

Amongst the English explorers of this period, the most important are Moorcroft, Burnes and Wood; and amongst the Russians, Muravyeff Negri, Berg, Eichwald, Karelin, Bute-

neff. Danilevski, and Shrenk.

The routes of these travellers show that, for the most part, they penetrated only the plains of Turkestan and Turan. As to the mountain-system of Eastern Turkestan and the Pamir, the only explorers who added anything of real value to our knowledge were Captain Wood, who penetrated to lake Sari-Kul (Victoria); Lehmann and Bogoslovski, who reached Iskander-Kul, the valley of Zerafshan, and the site of ancient Sogdiana; and lastly, Shrenk, who explored the Jungarian Ala-Tau region, to the north-east of the Pamirs.

C. Johnston, *B. C. S.*

ART. III -THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ISLAMISM.

The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall: from original Sources. By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L, Author of the "Life of Mahomed," "Mahomed and Islam," &c. 1891.

The Life and Teachings of Mahomed; or, The Spirit of Islam. By Syed Ameer Ali, C. I. E., Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal. 1891.

THE investigation of the origins and forces of the great systems of religion, which have, ever since the dawn of history, swayed the mind of the human race, affords a boundless field for the display of the theories of the philosopher, and for the exercise of the labours of the historian. In studying the history of the gradual growth and development of human society, we find that the old polytheistic beliefs, based upon the adoration of the forces of Nature, which were universally prevalent among nations and races in the early stages of civilisation, have now been long replaced by great ethical and moral systems of religion, expressed in creeds claiming the authority of Divine Revelation; and that three of these great religious systems-Islamism, Buddhism, and Christianity—now share between them the empire over the souls of men throughout the regions of the civilised and semicivilised world.

These three great creeds may be said to fairly represent the religious thought of three of the great ethnical divisions of the human race: for Christianity took its rise, if not its origin, among the nations of Aryan stock, and was, until quite lately, their exclusive appanage; and Buddhism has made a permanent impression only among the peoples of the great Mongolian race; while Islamism, like its precursor and prototype, Judaism, is a religion of Semitic origin, and its main features represent ideas peculiar to the Semitic mind.

This theory of the coincidence of religion with race may by many be considered a too hasty generalisation: and certainly numerous exceptions may be pointed out, such as, for instance, the imposition of Christianity on the natives of South America by European conquerors, and the results of the

labours of modern Christian missionaries.

The Aryan Hindus embraced Buddhism for a considerable period of their history; but their subsequent repudiation of it, and their consequent return to their ancient polytheism, tends rather to support the theory of the connection of religion with race. Islamism has made but few converts among

the Aryan Hindus in India, and fewer still among the Aryan

Sclaves and Hellenes in Europe.

The Semitic type of religion has always been obstinately rejected by people of Aryan descent; and, though our own day has witnessed the introduction of a Musalman (as well as very esoteric Buddhist) propaganda into England, the only feeling aroused by the sight among Christians (amongst whom we do not include the "roughs" and "larrikins" of Liverpool) is that of an amused curiosity. On the other hand, the Semitic religion of Islam has been singularly fortunate in securing the affections of other non-Semitic races; for the Mongolians of Central Asia and the Negro tribes of Northern Africa have embraced it with hearty good will, and Western Tartary and the Soudan have been Muhammadan for The Law of Islam thus still influences the minds and lives of a vast multitude of mankind, drawn from three of the distinct great ethnological divisions of the human race: and though, in these days of the decline of the waning Crescent, the number of professing Musalmans has fallen far below the number of professing Christians, yet, according to the latest estimates, Islam still counts among its votaries a hundredand-seventy millions of souls; or, speaking broadly, about a seventh part of the whole human race.

The religion of Islam comprises within itself not only a code of ethics and morals, but a social and political system of Semitic origin; and its rise and decline have perhaps affected the fortunes of humanity more than the course of any other religion. At the present time its decay is causing a political revolution in the Oriental World, whereby the sword and sceptre of Islam are being transferred to the hands of its enemies, and, in the shape of the Eastern Question, is perpetually agitating the politics and threatening the peace of Europe. We propose here, following the lines laid down by Sir William Muir and the Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, to indicate briefly the causes of the former triumph and suc-

cess of Islamism, and of its present failure and decay.

The Christianity of the peoples of the Roman Empire in the seventh century after Christ was no longer the Christianity of Christ and His Apostles. After a three-hundred-years' struggle, Christianity had conquered the world; but, in the struggle, it had itself been vanquished. Sir William Muir confirms the gloomy view taken by Syed Ameer Ali of the state of the Christian Church in the Dark Ages. "Indeed," says he, "throughout the Empire, Christianity was eaten up of strife and rancour." Christianity, imposed by their rulers on all the peoples of the Roman Empire, would probably have been in any form uncongenial to the Semitic nations inhabit-

ately and how successfully it was resisted by the Jews, amongst whom it actually took its origin. This corrupt Byzantine form of it had, however, been perforce embraced by all the Semitic populations of Syria and Palestine, and had been accepted by many of the tribes of Northern Arabia. when in that country a new Prophet arose to proclaim a new faith, which was destined for a while to dispute with Christianity the Empire of the civilised world.

In the seventh century of the Christian Era, the Arabs were, as they had been since the times of their father Ishmael, a pastoral and nomadic people, living under a patriarchal system, and divided into tribes, leading much the same kind of existence as the Bedouin tribes still lead at the present day.

They were distinguished by the rude virtues common to nations in the patriarchal stage of civilisation: simplicity, generosity, and hospitality; and they cultivated a rough kind of chivalry. They were polytheists and image-worshippers, and they already revered the famous Black Stone of the Kaaba at Makka, probably an aërolite, the descent of which from the regions of the air had invested it with a supernatural character. As Professor Robertson Smith has observed in his valuable Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, the ancient religion of these Pagan Arabs had no creed; it consisted entirely of institutions and practices. Their religion was a social matter which had grown up for centuries along with their national habits and customs. "In the case of the nomadic Arabs," he says, "shut up in their wilderness of rock and sand, Nature herself barred the way of progress. The life of the desert does not furnish the material conditions for permanent advance beyond the tribal system, and we find that the religious development of the Arabs was proportionally retarded, so that, at the advent of Islamism, the ancient heathenism, like the ancient tribal structure of society, had become effete, without ever having ceased to be barbarous."

It would thus seem that the old polytheism of the Arab nation was, at the time of the Mission of Muhammad, undergoing the same process of natural decay which had overtaken the old Pagan religions of the European nations; and the Arabs were, consequently, at that time, in a state of religious unrest. Jews and Christians had made many proselytes among them, and the Jewish and Christian expectation of the coming of a Messiah—of a Deliverer—had perhaps affected the mind of the Arab nation. The train was already laid to which the fiery nature of the Prophet applied the torch of inspiration. "The Great Man," says Carlyle, speaking of Muhammad, "was always as lightning out of Heaven: the rest of men waited for him like fuel, and they too would flame."

The Prophet, or Nabi, is essentially a Semitic religious institution. He is not a sage, like Confucius or Zoroaster; nor a saint, like St. Paul or St. Augustine. He communes with the Lord, like Samuel or Elijah; he delivers His message direct from God to the world, and the Divine Words are heard through his mouth. To this day prophets arise in Islam among the Semitic peoples, like the son of Abdul Wahab in Arabia in the last century, like the false Mahdi in the Soudan. and the Senoussi Shaikh in Tripoli at the present day, whose commands are obeyed by the people as the very voice of God. The religious side of character was abnormally developed in Muhammad. To him the true solution of the mystery of Life was Righteousness. When he kept his flocks in the desert solitude alone with the forces and phenomena of Nature, he recognised in them the manifestation of Nature's God. He communed with the Unseen; and the lofty thoughts that filled his soul seemed to him to be inspired by a Higher Power. He poured them forth in a tumultuous rhapsody which intoxicated the souls of the listeners, with its sonorous rhythm and poetic imagery. "Verily," exclaimed his hearers, "we testify that thou art the Prophet of God!" To this day the Moslem points to the Koran as the greatest miracle of Islam. Its language is, to his mind, an impossible achievement of the human intellect. Its rambling and incoherent utterances represent to him the perfection of wisdom. The honorary prefix of "Hafiz," or "Rememberer," common enough among Musalmans, indicates one who has learnt the Koran by rote and can repeat every word of it. Though Muhammad was himself illiterate, his utterances were written down by his followers, and from his death to the present day not one jot nor one tittle of the Koran has been altered; and the learned Musalman points to the admitted interpolations and various readings of the Old and New Testaments as a plain proof of their fallacy, and of their abrogation by the "Glorious Book."

Muhammad was forty years of age when he first believed, or announced himself to be charged with an inspired message to his fellow-men. His zeal and eloquence were soon rewarded by converts and disciples. The chief men of the tribes and the priests of the Holy Places of course denounced and opposed the new doctrines, and Islam soon had its martyrs and its

champions.

Persecution had its usual and natural effect in stimulating fanaticism and in encouraging resistance, and the Prophet soon found himself invested, by the force of circumstances, with the role of a statesman and a warrior.

The Fount of Inspiration continued to flow; every event in his chequered career, every order issued to the Faithful was explained, or sanctioned, by some fresh revelation. His mission

lasted but twelve years, and Death conquered him in the moment of his triumph. "This day," he said in his address at the Farewell Pilgrimage just before his end, "have I perfected your religion unto you," and, to quote the words of Sir William Muir, "for weal or woe, thus perfect and complete has it ever since remained. And so it is with the whole fabric of Islam: it remains precisely as the Prophet left it; neither taken from, nor added to; his work alone. As the Faith issued from the lips of Muhammad, or was embodied in his daily life, even so it lived, and still lives, the religion of a hundred-and-seventy millions of the human race."

The central point of the Faith thus proclaimed is the unity of God: the chief rule of practice, submission to His will:—

"Praise to the Name Almighty: there is no God but one!
And Muhammad is His Prophet, and His Will shall ever be done."

"Islam," "Submission," is from the root word "Salam," "Peace: "absolute submission to the Will of God is perfect peace. The Musalman alone is the true believer, the loyal worshipper, the man who has submitted himself to the Will of the Almighty, as revealed in His Word through His Prophets. The "Kafir," or ungrateful man, is he who regards the boon of life and health, the favours of fortune, the gifts of nature, as bestowed by false deities, or as the results of chance, or as the rewards of human exertions. The whole inhabited world is, in the eyes of the Moslem, sharply divided into two parts: the "Dar-ul-Islam," or "Land of Loyalty," peopled by the servants of Allah; and the "Dar-ul-Harb," or "Land of War," inhabiled by infidels living in the overt act of rebellion against the Almighty.

To the Musalman mind the ideal political state is neither a Monarchy, nor an Aristocracy, nor a Democracy; but a Theocracy: and not long after the death of the Prophet, the first secession in Islam was caused by the protest of the Kharijis, or "Seceders," against what they looked on as the human usurpation of the Caliphate.

Throughout the history of Islam we shall find vain attempts in the direction of the establishment of an ideal Theocracy: but the practical outcome of these aspirations has been the acceptance, in its boldest and barest form, of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. The claims of the Prophet and of the Khalifs to obedience as the Vice-gerents of God on earth have been inherited by all the monarchs whose rule is sanctified by Islam.

The Nizam of Hyderabad speaks of himself as "Bandagani-Aali" (the Servant of the Most High): and the Amir of
Kabul refers to his own rule as "Daulat-i-Khudadad" (the

VOL XCV.]

God-given Government). This firm belief in the Divine Guidance in all the affairs of the world was one of the chief causes of the success of Islam, inspiring the hearts and arms of its apostles and champions with more than mortal strength and courage. The Faith of the Christian, in these days at least, seems pale and lifeless, beside the Faith of the Musalman. "No Christians," says Carlyle, "since the early ages, or only perhaps the English Puritans in modern times, have ever stood by their Faith as the Moslems stand by theirs, believing it wholly, fronting Time with it, and Eternity with it."

Even the English Puritan must yield the palm of faith to the Moslem. "Trust in God," said Cromwell, "and keep your powder dry," but the Musalman makes no such reservation. His utterance is that of his kindred Hebrew seer: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him!" This unreasoning Faith we stigmatise as fatalism, and its paralysing effect in stifling energy and arresting effort is now as fatal a factor in the decay of Islamism as its fanatical fervour was potent in promoting its rise.

Muhammad acknowledged and professed to ratify the previous Prophetic missions of Moses and Jesus: but the Koran affords no internal evidence of his having ever perused either the Hebrew Scriptures or the Gospels of the Christian Canon. The Biblical stories narrated by him are apparently derived from the Talmud, or from Rabbinical tradition. The Moral Law of Islam is, indeed, almost identical with the Moral Law of Moses: but it is difficult to decide how much of it was literally adopted from the Pentateuch and how much was taken from the actual beliefs and practices of the Arabs, and was common to them and their kindred nation of the Hebrews. Some of the old institutions of the Pagan Arabs were adopted bodily into the New Revelation: as the sanctity of the Black Stone of the Kaaba, and the substitution of Makka for Jerusalem, as the "Kibla," or place, to which the Faithful should turn in pray-These concessions to ancient custom were certainly a compromise with the old form of religion, which the Arabs did not abandon without reluctance. From Christianity Muhammad appears to have borrowed nothing. The strict prohibition of drinking and gambling was probably prompted by his own moral sense. His revelation bears a strong local stamp, and was no doubt particularly inspired by the national genius of the Arab race. The celestial verdure of "Jannat tahta hil anhar" (" Paradise through which rivers shall flow") captivated the fancy of the dwellers in arid deserts, to whom the word "River" suggested as high a flight of the imagination as the word " Paradise."

Prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage, and the regulated giving of alms were the four cardinal points of the ritual of Islam,

and were probably borrowed from the practice of the Jews. The stress laid upon their rigid observance has produced the same result in Islam as in Judaism; a greater regard for the outward forms of religion than for the righteousness which is

its spirit.

All Islam was henceforth to form one brotherhood; the "Ahl-i-Sunnat va Jama'at" or, the "People of the Law and the Congregation." This was a great advance on the separation of tribes and nations by mutual rivalries and animosities. But it stopped fatally short. It established the bond of religious conformity instead of the bond of a common humanity. The virtues and the sympathies of Islam are confined within the pale of Islam The unbeliever has no rights, if we except the right to pay taxes and to render bond-service to the chosen people. Hence the necessity for the anomalous and inconvenient jurisdiction of European Consular Courts in all Musalman countries. The infidel who rejects the Revelation of Islam has no redress for wrong under its Sacred Code, which only provides for his slaughter and spoliation. A Muhammadan obeying an unbelieving ruler and man-made laws finds himself in a false position. Prayer cannot be offered in a Musalman mosque for a Christian monarch. In not one of the countless mosques in British India is the prescribed prayer for the temporal Sovereign made in the name of Her Gracious Majesty the Empress Victoria. The difficulty of reciting the "Khutba," or Litany, without specifying the name of the Sovereign is surmounted by the use of the vague expression " Padishah-i-Hal," or " Monarch of the Period," and the Faithful are left to apply it according to their inclinations.

Now that the countries of the Islam have fallen far behind the countries of Christendom in wealth, prosperity, and power, this assumption of a monopoly of the Divine favour has its ludicrous side; and this isolation of Islam from the rest of the unbelieving world, preventing its professors from sharing in the progress of science and invention, has been one of the princi-

pal causes of the decay of the power of Islamism.

But within the pale of Islam all men were brothers. The doctrine of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity was preached by the Prophet as extending to and embracing all True Believers. All were to be equal before God: none was to be greater or less than another. The Chiefs and Leaders would be chosen by God, and the Divine choice would be manifested in their election by the common consent of the congregation of Islam. The nomination of a successor to carry on the work begun by the Prophet was left to the common voice of the Moslems, and after Muhammad had ascended to Heaven, their unanimous acclamations hailed his old companion, Abu Bakr, as his Khalifa,

or Deputy on Earth. The repetition of the address of the First Khalif to the multitude on the occasion of his election gives a better idea of the spirit in which the Arabs applied themselves to the task of the propagation of the Islam, than the most lengthy and minute historical disquisition. He arose in the pulpit of the mosque in Medina, and said:—

"Oh people! Now I am Ruler over you, albeit not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me; if ill, then set me right. Follow the True, wherein is faithfulness; eschew the False, wherein

is treachery.

"The weaker amongst you shall be as the stronger with me, until that I shall have redressed his wrong; and the stronger shall be as the weaker, until, if the Lord will, I shall have taken from him that which he hath wrested. Leave not off to fight in the ways of the Lord; whosoever leaveth off, him verily shall the Lord abuse. Obey me, as I obey the Lord and His Prophet; wherein I disobey, obey me not. Now, arise to prayer, and the Lord be with you!"

The assembly stood up to prayer, and Abu Bakr filled the place of Muhammad; and he filled it right worthily. The sudden and unlooked-for death of the Prophet had disconcerted his disciples, and all Arabia was in a ferment. False prophets started up on every side to turn the people from the right ways. The Islam was in danger; and the people besought Abu Bakr to countermand the expedition which was about to start for the Syrian border under the command of Osama, the son of Zeid, in accordance with the last orders given by the Prophet. The heathen were gathering around, and Medina was in danger; but the Khalif was faithful to his departed Master's trust, and the expedition set forth. Abu Bakr accompanied it on foot for part of the first stage. When Osama pressed him to mount his horse, he replied: "Nay I will not mount; verily, I will soil my feet for a little moment, in the ways of the Lord." His captains were inspired with his own zeal and devotion: and Osama's successful raid was the first of the series of marvellous triumphs that conquered half of the then known world for the Faith of Islam in little less than a hundred years. History records nothing more wonderful than the career of Arab conquest, and the pious Moslem points to it with triumph as a miraculous confirmation of the Divine origin of his once victorious creed. Within the space of one century these rude and undisciplined warriors of the desert had overrun and conquered all Western and Central Asia, up to the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian, and as far as the banks of the Oxus and the Indus; all Northern Africa, from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules; had subjugated Spain and pushed their flying squadrons into the heart of France; they had colonised Sicily and Crete, and had occupied the sea coasts of Apulia and Savoy. Their

zeal, courage, and constancy surmounted all obstacles, overcame all opposition, endured all hardships. Their fervid imagination plainly saw the Hand of God in their miraculous victories. "Paradise before you; the Devil and Hell in your rear!" exclaimed Khalid, called Saifullah (the Sword of the Lord), to his wavering warriors. In the desert whirlwind, the frenzied imagination of the Arab descried squadrons of angels charging the ranks of his foes: in the glowing sunset skies he fancied he saw houris arrayed in robes of amber and emerald hues, holding out to him the Martyr's Crown. Byron has depicted the death of a fanatical Tartar on the Russian bayonets in words as glowing as the faith of the dying Ghazi:—

"So fully flashed the phantom on his eyes,
That when the steel was in his very heart,
He shouted "Allah!" and saw Paradise
With all its veil of mystery drawn apart:
Priests, prophets, houris, angels, saints, descried
In one voluptuous blaze, and then he died."

The result of these rapid and extensive conquests was that the Khalifs from Damascus, Kufa, or Baghdad reigned over an Empire vaster than the territorial dominion of Rome in her palmiest days, and combined in their own persons the temporal power of the Emperors with the spiritual power of the Popes. Thus was established the mighty Empire of Arabs, or Saracens (as they were called by the Latin-speaking peoples, from the Arabic "Sharakin," or "Oriental,") which fixed the geographical limits of the religion of Islam very much as they still exist at the present day.

Everywhere the conquered nations embraced the new Faith rudely and suddenly thrust upon them. The Semitic population of Syria and Mesopotamia probably adopted it willingly: the Copts and Berbers of Egypt and Africa exchanged their Christianity for it reluctantly: but the mass of the Aryan Goths in Spain and of the Aryan Hindus in Scinde stubbornly resisted conversion, and their Semitic conquerors were fain to be content with reducing the obstinate infidels to the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of

water to the congregation of Islam.

Little more than a hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the marvellously rapid career of the Arab conquest came to a sudden halt. The Saracen hosts were repeatedly repulsed from the walls of Constantinople, and were well-nigh annihilated by Charles Martel and the Franks on the field of Tours. The unnaturally rapid expansion of the Arab nation seemed to have exhausted its vital forces, and it was unequal to a more prolonged effort. Much of the world remained to be yet conquered for Islam, but the

failing strength of its apostles was no longer equal to the task. And Islam was already divided against itself. There were jealousies, rivalries, enmities in the congregation. The theoretical union of all true believers was of little avail in presence of the practical differences of tribal descent and material interest. While the Moslems of Asia obeyed the Abbasside Khalif at Baghdad, the Moslems of Africa obeyed the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, and the city of Kortoba (Cordova) in Andalus (Spain) held the court of a third Khalif of Ommeyad lineage. The unity of Islam soon became a mere theological fiction. The rulers of Islam waged sanguinary wars with each other, and only occasionally united to make common cause against the attacks of the Christian Powers.

The Arabs formed a social and political aristocracy of race in all the lands that they had conquered for Islam. They now found themselves face to face with social and political problems which had never troubled them while they were living the patriarchal life of the desert; had never even entered the imagination of their Prophet Muhammad when he proclaimed his New Revelation in the ears of a Semitic and nomadic people. But they had a sure guide in the right path. God had given them in the Koran, the Lamp of Revelation, to enlighten their darkness. When in difficulty they

went to the Divine Word for guidance.

As the uninspired intellect can discover little but sonorous platitudes in the Sacred Oracles, some method of interpreting them had to be found: and there sprung up a school of legists who made it their business to apply the text of Scripture to current affairs, and to explain its hidden meaning with reference to their conduct. The insufficiency of the Revealed Word of God was supplemented by the sayings of the Prophet preserved by his companions and handed down by tradition. These were collected in volumes, and voluminous commentaries were compiled upon them and upon the Koran, and thus a ponderous pile of theological literature was gradually amassed, which now furnishes the stock-in-trade of the 'Ulama, or Doctors of the Law, in Moslem countries. Four chief schools of theocratical jurisprudence have thus been established in Islam, named, respectively, after their several founders, the Shafai, the Hanafi, the Maliki, and the Hanbali, - which, varying in many non-essential points of doctrine and practice, have separated the orthodox Musalmans of the Sunnat-va-Jama'at into four sects, or rather sections, between whom, however, no rivalry, or hostility, but a friendly toleration prevails.

As an example of this so-called science of the application of religious principles to mundane events, we may give an

instance taken from the State Archives of the Ottoman Empire. In the year 1645 A. D. the Turkish Sultan Ibrahim conceived the project of conquering the island of Crete from the Venetians. The Knights of St. John, "the cursed crossed warriors of Malta," had carried Turkish prizes into Cretan harbours and there disposed of the captured property and persons of the Musalman crews. The Venetians had offered humble apologies and full restitution, and the Sultan pretended to be pacified, and fitted out a mighty armada, ostensibly for an expedition against Malta; but he determined to divert it to Crete, as an easier and more valuable conquest: and, the better to effect his purpose, he postponed the formality of a declaration of war till after the seizure of the island. But, before undertaking his treacherous enterprise, he sought the sanction of religion for it by addressing the following formal enquiry to the Mufti, or Shaikh-ul-Islam, the chief expounder of the Sacred Law :-

"Query.—If the Infidels are possessed of a land which was formerly in the possession of Moslems; if they have defiled its mosques, colleges and oratories with their superstitions; if they plunder Musalman merchants and pilgrims: can the Emperor of Islam, moved by his zeal for the House of God, wrest these countries from the hands of the infidels, and add them to the Musalman territory?"

The following Fatwa, or Decision, was delivered upon this question by the Shaikh-ul-Islam:—

"Answer.—God knows everything best. Peace with the infidels is lawful only, if advantageous to all Moslems; but if not, it is not legal at all. As soon as it is useful, it is also allowed to break the peace, be it concluded for a fixed time or for ever. This is justified by the example of the Prophet, who, having concluded peace with the infidels, which was broken by 'Ali in the sixth year of the Hegira, took the field against them in the eighth year, and conquered Mecca. The Emperor has but imitated the Sunna of the Prophet God bless his victories.—This was written by the poor and despised Abu Sa'id."

"The Emperor," says the Turkish chronicler, Auliya Effendi, took this Fatwa, and stuck to it like a cable of safety."

But the Arabs, in spite of their devotion to the Koran and the Shari'at, could not help being profoundly affected by the Grecian and Roman civilisation of the countries which they had overrun and occupied. They were brought into close contact with Grecian art and science, which was still a sealed book to the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations of Northern Europe. They were at least partially conquered by the superior civilisation of their subjects.

The ingenious and eager Arab character began to occupy itself with the unfamiliar world of classical learning and literature. The names of Aflátún (Plato) and Bukrát (Hippocrates) became familiar to Arab students. The works of Jálínús (Galen) and of Batlamus (Ptolemy) were translated into the Arabic language. A school of Arab philosophers arose who strove to rationalise Islam and to reconcile the wisdom of the sages of Greece with the inspired teaching of the Prophet of Arabia. Some of their works, such as the Akhlaq-i-Nasiri and the Akhlaq-i-Jaláli, are standard works in Islam to this day, and shew a curious commingling of Western and Oriental

ideas and modes of thought.

Some of these philosophers, as Avicenna and Averroes, became widely renowned beyond the borders of Islam. The Abbasside Khalifs of Baghdad and the Ommeyade Khalifs of Cordova rivalled each other as munificent patrons of art and literature. A splendid and graceful style of architecture adorned their cities. Commerce and manufactures flourished under their sway. Many ingenious writers have contrasted the culture and learning of the Arabs of the ninth and tenth centuries of our era with the rudeness and ignorance of Christian Europe during the period to which our historians have given the appropriate name of "the Dark Ages." The Arab historian has a corresponding expression in the "Ahd-i-Jahálat" (Times of Ignorance), but he applies the epithet to the centuries before the coming of Muhammad, when the whole world was still lying in darkness, unillumined by the Light of Islam

In our opinion this culture and civilisation of the Arabs in the Golden Age of the Caliphate was quite exotic to the Semitic race and to the Arab nation. It was, in its origin, purely Greek, and was only adopted by the Arabs from political and geographical accident. It did not long survive, and has left little or no trace in the Arab national life. As soon as it had taken hold on the artistic and intellectual side of the national character, the religious side of that character was stirred to violent opposition to it. The righteous Moslems denounced it with all the ardour and vigour of a Hebrew Prophet denouncing the culture and civilisation of Egypt or of Tyre.

The ideal of the religious mind among the Semitic races has always been a return to the patriarchal state of society, when the pastoral nation was untainted by the evils arising from the wealth and luxury which are the inevitable concomitants of a higher state of civilisation. A conflict now commenced in the congregation of Islam between the claims of Revelation on the one hand, and those of Rationalism on the other.

The Free Thinkers rebelled against the trammels imposed by the Koran on art, and the limitations which it prescribed to science. Many of the Abbasside Khalifs were wise and liberal minded men, and were the supporters and champions of free thought and free enquiry. Under the influence of Grecian thought and culture a movement was set on foot to reconcile Reason and Revelation, by the Mutazelis, just as a similar movement has in our own time been inaugurated by the "Naturis" in British India, under the influence of Modern European thought and culture.

The battle between Reason and Dogma was fought out in Islam five centuries before it was fought out in Christian Europe; but with a very different result. In Islam, Religion triumphed: the religious instinct of the Semitic race asserted itself victoriously: Reason was banished from the arena of political and social life, and with it science vanished too, and

Art languished.

This unfortunate consummation was greatly helped on by the preponderating influence which the Turkish race now began to assume in the political divisions of Islam. These Mongolian shepherd warriors had no inclination toward arts and science. They embraced the new Faith as a banner and a rallying cry which invested their pastime of war with the complexion of a religious duty. And their championship was indeed invaluable to Islam, for it had now to stand on the There was now no question of conquering the Dar-ul-Harb, but rather of successfully defending the Dar-ul-Islam against the attacks of the crossed warriors of Europe; and hardly had the Crusades ceased to harass Islam, and to threaten the chief seats of Moslem faith and power, when the deluge of the Pagan Tartars under Changhiz Khan and his successors had well-nigh submerged all Islam beneath its All the Muhammadan Kingdom of Central and Western Asia, and the Abbasside Caliphate itself were destroyed: but what seemed to their human vision a fatal blow to the power of Islam, turned out to be a crowning mercy. The victorious Moguls, after coquetting with Christianity for a while, went over en masse to Islamism, and brought to their newly-adopted Faith a large reinforcement, which gave it a fresh impetus. The decay of science and learning was compensated for by the revival of arms. Islam became once more a terror to Christendom and a menace to the peace of Europe: the Crescent banner was borne across the Hellespont, and the chaunt of the Muezzin proclaiming the Divine unity was heard on the banks of the Dniester and the Danube. The Metropolis of the Eastern Roman Empire, the seat of the Christian Kaiser for one thousand years, became Dar-ul-Islam. "Verily, they shall conquer Kustuntuniya," is the prediction attributed to the Prophet; "the best of commanders is their commander; the best of armies is that army." The universal conquest of the world was now once more eagerly expected and predicted;

and the rapidity with which the Ottoman arms reduced the kingdoms of the Balkan Peninsula and Hungary recalled the rapid and victorious career of Khalid and Amru, and seemed

to promise the speedy subjugation of the rest of Europe.

The Mongolian Turk completely usurped the place of the Semitic Arab as the ruler and the champion of Islam, and with his ascendancy expired any lingering hope of reconciling Islam with the requirements of human progress and civilisation. With all his Mongol stupidity and brutality, the Turk has many fine qualities; and his masterful character extorts unwilling admiration even from his numerous enemies. "What would you do if the Turks were gone?" said an Englishman to an Arab Shaikh at Baghdad. "We would put up a Turk's cap on a pole, and acknowledge it as our Master," was the reply. Yet the Arabs hate the Turks as only nations of different race can hate each other. The proverbial sayings which supply the place of a rational philosophy to the Arabs, teem with invective against their Ottoman neighbours and masters, as in the familiar instance: "The grass never grows in the footsteps of a Turk;" a graphic expression of the desolation which overtakes all the countries that have the misfortune to groan under Turkish rule.

Yet the Turk reigns in almost all the lands which are still governed by the Law of Islam at the present day. The House of Ottoman has handed down the sceptre of the Kaisars in an unbroken line for six centuries: a unique instance of the long duration of an Oriental dynasty. "Even the unreclaimed Asiatic," says the historian Freeman, "when he was once seated on the throne of the New Rome, inherited his

share of Rome's eternity."

The Khedive of Egypt and the Bey of Tunis are Turks; the Shah of Persia is a Turk of the Kajar tribe; the Khans of Bokhara and Khiva are Turks of the Uzbeg tribe. The Grand Moguls of India, the descendants of Timur, were, by

extraction, more of Turks than of Tartars.

For some centuries the fortunes of the nations of Islam have thus been identified with the fortunes of the Turkish race, and some writers have contrasted the present backward and ignorant condition of the Moslem peoples with their state of culture and civilisation under the Arabian Caliphate, and have attributed it to the effects of Turkish rule.

But when we look at Morocco, where the Turk has never gained a footing, or at Muscat or Kabul, which are under Arab and Afghan rule, we find the same conditions of bigotry and ignorance prevailing as in Tunis and Bokhara, and we are therefore justified in attributing their prevalence to the influence of a common religion, rather than to the character of

a race or a nationality. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Syed Ameer Ali's "Tu quoque" applies with effect to the Christianity of the Dark Ages. But our business with the conflict between Islam and Christendom does not lie in the time of the Crusades, but in the present moment. We reply to him that progress has been possible under Christianity, and

it has not been possible under Islam.

The Turanian nations corrupted the Semitic creed of Islam with their own superstitions as soon as they had adopted it. They introduced into it the invocation of saints and the performance of rites and ceremonies at their tombs. They have overlaid the pure Monotheism of the Semitic Arabs with saint-worship, relic-worship, Koran-worship. Though Muhammad had said: "Lá Rahibániyat fi'l Islámiya—" Let there be no monkery in Islam,") they established religious orders and fraternities of Dervishes, which have become in most Moslem lands, according to the usual fate of such celibate institutions, veritable "Akhwán-ush-Shayátín" or "Fraternities of Devils."

On the other hand, the Aryan Persians, who were the only nation of Aryan race perforce converted wholesale to Islam (with the exception of the small remnant which fled to India, and still exist here in the modern Pársís), infected their new Semitic creed with their own Aryan and anthropomorphous religious ideas; and, as Shiyas or Schismatics, have become the heretics of the Muhammadan world. This heresy consists principally in maintaining the hereditary transmission of the prophetic office in the family of Muhammad, and in acknowledging his son-in-law 'Ali and his descendants as the only legitimate Khalifas, or successors, of the Prophet. The Persians almost worship 'Ali as a perfect type of humanity, and invoke his name oftener than that of God or Muhammad. These views, which appear to find favour in the sight of Syed Ameer Ali, are condemned by the impartial European observer, as contrary both to historical truth and to the spirit of Islam. But this is not the only strange heresy which has taken root in the Aryan soil of Persia. It has always been the home of Sufi-ism or Muhammadan pantheistic philosophy; a strange attempt to reconcile the teaching of the Prophet with the lessons of Nature, which finds its most popular expression in the mysticism of poets like Háfiz and 'Omar Khayyám.

And in the present day the new religion of the Bab, or Gate, has sprung up in Persia, remarkable for its strange analogy to the origin of Christianity. The doctrines preached by the obscure religious teacher who claimed to be the Bab, or Gate of Eternal Life, are identical with the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. His execution by the authorities had no effect

upon his disciples, who affirm him to be still alive. The sect of the Bábis still flourishes in secret, and may yet be destined some day to supplant Islamism in Persia. Its ruling motive is the same as that which animates the Honourable Syed Ameer Ali and the "Naturis" among the Moslems of India: the acknowldgement and avowal of the imperative necessity of substituting the brotherhood of humanity for the brotherhood of Islam.

In recognising this cardinal truth Christianity returned to the simple teaching of Christ, and renounced the dogmatic pretensions and ritualistic mummeries which had for ages

trammelled its steps and impeded its progress.

While it treated the Pagan and the Musalman as the enemies of Christ, it could not prevail against them: when it recognised them as children of a common father, it had won the battle. As a Persecutor and a Crusader, it fought and failed: as a Healer and a Helper, it came and conquered.

For ten centuries the nations of Cristendom and Islam maintained an almost continual state of warfare on behalf of their respective creeds without either side gaining any decided

advantage.

If at one time the Arabs crossed the Pyrenees, at another time the Crusaders were at the gates of Damietta. The Cross replaced the Crescent on the towers of the Alhambra only a few years after the Cathedral of Saint Sophia had been turned into a Musalman mosque. Turkish corsairs were ravaging the shores of the Christian States on the Mediterranean Sea, while the Portuguese pirates were ruining the commerce which the Arabs had for ages carried on along the West Coast of India. For ten centuries at least the moral and material forces of Christendom and Islam were fairly evenly matched. During the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian Era the advantages of culture and science were, as we have seen, on the side of the Moslems. The Arab was more civilised than the Frank; as brave, but more politic and more learned. The ignorance of our rude forefathers in the matter of anything beyond the range of their immediate vision equalled the present ignorance of the Turk or Moor. To them all Musalmans were accursed idolators, worshippers of the false gods, Mahound and Termagaunt (Miscreants, or Misbelievers), a term which still survives in our language as an epithet of reproach, and a memento of the blindness of hostile bigotry. At the time of the Crusades, the Europeans were still inferior to the Orientals in wealth, luxury, and refinement. In the sixteenth century, war was still waged between them on equal terms and victory alternately favoured the banners of the Cross and of the Crescent. Both still believed themselves to be fighting in the

cause of God, and both invoked His assistance for their arms. If the Turkish Admiral Khyrud Din Barbarossa, in the Seafight off Prevesa, lulled the wind, which favoured the Christian sails, by casting a written verse of the Koran into the air; on the other hand Cardinal Ximenes, at the capture of Oran (Vakrán), by his prayers, stayed the course of the sun in the heavens for several hours, until the soldiers of the Cross were avenged of their Moorish enemies. If houris leant from the heavens, waving green kerchiefs, to lure the Ghazi to his " Martyrdom," St. James, on his white horse, was seen in mid-air by pious eyes, leading the charge of the Champions of the Cross. If Christians and Musalmans were in their superstitious fancies equally far from the truth, they were equally wanting in justice and mercy. The Jesuit-ridden Court of Vienna in vain urged the sacred duty of persecuting the Protestants in Hungary on the Turkish Pasha at Buda, who treated Christians of all sects and sorts with the same contemptuous toleration. The Jews, expelled from Christian Spain, found a refuge and a shelter in the dominions of the Grand Turk; while the corsair brigantines of Algiers and Sallec were propelled by sinews of Christian slaves, the rowing benches of the galleys of the Most Christian King, and of the Knights of St. John, were manned by fettered Turks and Moors.

But the Renaissance, the Reformation, the art of Printing, the spread of Science, the growth of invention and discovery, had their inevitable effect upon the civilisation of the Christian nations, and, in the eighteenth century, it was no longer possible to draw a parallel between the condition of Christendom and Islam. The Musalman nations could no longer compete or contend with the Christian Powers on equal terms.

The defeat of the Great Turkish host before the walls of Vienna in A. D. 1683 marked the turning point of the age-long contest between Christendom and Islam. During the last two centuries the decay of the political power of Islam has been fearfully rapid. In Europe the Tartar Khanates of Kazan, Astrachan and the Crimea have been annexed and absorbed by Russia. Hungary, Dalmatia, Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece have all been restored to Christendom: Cyprus is occupied by the English and Bosnia by the Austrians.

In Asia, Russia has absorbed the Khanate of Khokand; and Bokhara and Khiva, which are now tributary to her, will inevitably soon undergo the same fate. China has similarly occupied and annexed the Khanate of Kashgar and Yarkand. The Muhammadan Empire of the Grand Moguls in India has been replaced by an English Viceroyalty. The Musalman Malay States of the Indian Archipelago are mostly under English, or Dutch protection or administration.

In Africa, Algiers and Tunis have been annexed by France: Egypt is occupied by England: and the Sultan of Zanzibar has made over the greater part of his territory to European commercial companies. Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, 'Oman and Morocco are the only independent Musalman countries left on the map, besides some insignificant Negro States in the Soudan; and all of these are so weak that they are indebted for their continued existence only to the support, or to the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the Christian Powers. And, along with the political power, the population and the revenues of the countries of Islam are ever steadily declining and decreasing.

Hence arises the chief political problem of the present day, which we call the Eastern Question; which appears superficially to merely involve the re-distribution of the countries which are now combined in the Turkish Empire, but which is in reality the disintegration of the social and political system of Islam under the increasing pressure of the forces of European civilisation. Von Ranke, the German historian, writing fifty years ago, in his Review of the State of the Ottoman Empire, clearly indicated the causes of the existence of the Eastern Question. His remarks refer particularly to Turkey, but it is evident that they apply equally to all Musalman countries which come within the sphere of European political and commercial influence. He wrote:—

"If we enquire into the causes of the internal decline of the Turkish Empire, and regard them under their most general manifestation, we must affirm that it is owing to the fact that the Empire is opposed to another section of the world immeasurably superior to itself in power. That other section could crush it to atoms in a moment; and while suffering it to exist for reasons of its own, it exerts upon it an indirect but irresistible, influence.

"The Ottoman Empire is overpowered and penetrated in all directions by this Christian system. We do not mean by this expression the Christian religion: nor would the words culture, civilisation, fully convey our idea; but it is being enlightened by the genius of the West: by that spirit which transforms nations into disciplined armies; that traces roads, cuts canals, covers all the sea with fleets and converts them into its own property; which fills remote continents with colonies, which has taken possession of the domains of knowledge, and cultivates them with unflagging industry; which maintains law and order among men in spite of the diversities of their passions. We see this spirit making prodigious progress. It has won America from the crude forces of Nature and of intractable tribes, and has thoroughly transformed it; by various paths it is penetrating the remotest parts of Asia, and only China still remains closed against it; it surrounds Africa on all her coasts: unceasing, multiform, unconquerable. irresistibly supplied with arms by science, it vanquishes the world. Within the last ten years it has made prodigious advances in the Ottoman Empire; it has created sources of diffusion for itself in Greece and Servia, Egypt and Constantinople."

This spirit of Freedom and Progress, so graphically described by Von Ranke, is now strangling and paralysing the antagonistic spirit of Islam, evolved in a patriarchal condition of society and suited only to a rude state of civilisation. By a violent effort Islam threw off the culture and philosophy which contended with it in the time of the Caliphate for the mastery of the Arab intellect; but it has now met with a spirit stronger than itself, but it struggles in vain against the encroachments of Modern European science and thought. Desperate, but fruitless, efforts have, from time to time, been made by Islam to repel the new enemy, and to recover its ancient ascendancy; in the words of the eminent explorer and orientalist Giffard Palgrave: "To put the hands of the clock of time back to where they stood at the hour of the death of the Prophet Muhammed." But, though the spirit of Islam is the same to-day as ever, and the faith and zeal that it kindles as burning as of yore, it has fallen upon evil days of breech-loaders and machine-guns.

Ever since the first disputes to the succession in the Caliphate between 'Ali and Muawiyah, the Kharijis, or "Seceders," have risen against the rulers of Islam, and gone out from its congregation in the vain attempt to restore the Theocracy as it existed in the time of the Judges of Israel and of the Prophet of Islam. These fanatics, who much resemble the Fifthmonarchy men in England in the days of the Puritan ascendancy, have often troubled the peace of the Musalman world: but their most successful and most united effort was the great Wahhabi Revival in Central Arabia in the latter part of the last century. These Musalman Puritans denounced saint and relic worship, wealth and luxury, all the corruptions of the world, the flesh, and the devil; and there is no doubt that their simple faith represents the purest and most original form

of Islamism.

The fanatical warriors, "bodies of steel and souls of fire," as Hope called them in *Anastasius*, chased the Turkish "Belillahs" from the holy cities and from the sacred soil of Arabia, and for a time it seemed as if the old Arab Empire was to be

revived by the Wahhabis.

But the rulers of Islam, who might, perhaps, by a more farsighted policy, have turned the new movement to the general advantage, united in a determined opposition to it; and the fiery valour of the Wahhabi warriors proved vain against the rolling fire and serried bayonets of the Egyptian Nizam soldiery, drilled and disciplined by the French Officers in Muhammed 'Ali Pasha's pay. The faithful followers of the Prophet were driven back into their native deserts of Nejd by the arms which degenerate Islam had borrowed from Christian Europe.

To the influence of Wahhabi missionaries was attributed the fanatical revival of Islam which took place throughout Chinese Tartary some thirty years ago, and for which an opportunity was afforded by the disordered state of the Manchu Empire, consequent on the great Tai-ping rebellion. The Musalman population rose evrywhere in revolt; they re-established a Musalman Khanate in Kashgar, and the Moslem Panthays in Yunan waged a long and desperate civil war with their heathen fellow-countrymen. After a series of tedious and costly operations, extending over many years, the Chinese Government completely quelled the revolt. The remnant of the Panthays who escaped from the slaughter of Talifu, found a refuge in British Burmah; the law of Islam was again thrust from the judgment seat in the towns of Tartary; and the outposts of Pagan China were again pushed up to the Pamirs. At the same time a Wahhabi propaganda was carried on in India, on its frontiers: Wahhabi conspiracies against British rule were hatched, and in some instances detected in India: and colonies of fanatics settled upon our North-Western border line in anticipation of an approaching Holy War.

Lately, again, the termination of a century of the Moslem Era has roused the latent expectations of the advent of the Mahdi, or Guide, the promised Messiah who is to restore Islam to its proper place as the dominant Power in the World; and it is difficult to say how far the Dervish movement in the Egyptian Soudan might not have extended had it not been checked by British bullets and bayonets. The Mahdist revolt in Darfur and Kordofan had the same object as the Wahhabi revival in Nejd a hundred years ago: viz., to abolish civilisation, and to restore the patriarchal system and the Theocracy: to replace laws of infidel origin based on reason and expediency, by the Law of the Koran and the Sunnat of the Prophet. It is impossible to say what latent potentialities of fanatical outburst still lie stored among the masses of Islam, to be some day exploded by the fatal contact of European civilisation, as the

These popular attempts at the revival of Islam have all ignored the altered situation of worldly affairs at the present day, and have vainly attempted a return to the dead Past: but, on the other hand, a series of attempts for the reform of Islam have been made by the Rulers of Musalman nations, whose efforts have, during the past century, been as vainly directed to the reconciliation of Islam with modern civilization; and to its political restoration by the assimilation of foreign moral and material forces. The innovations of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and his successors in Egypt have only resulted in

fanaticism of the Jewish nation was inflamed, in the days of Christ by the contact of the civilization of Greece and Rome.

the English occupation and administration of the country: nor have the measures of Sultan Mahmud and Abdul Majid in Turkey been successful in arresting the decay of the Ottoman Empire. It is the old story of 'putting new wine into old bottles.' Every European institution, transplanted into an Oriental community, seems to have the effect of still further weakening the body politic. "The spirit of Mahammadan polity," says Von Ranke, speaking of these futile reforms, " has not been true to itself; its complexion is growing wan; the

genius of the West is overpowering it."

In all purely Moslem countries these attempts at reforming the institutions of Islam have been forced down the throats of a reluctant people by the imperious will of their rulers; but in British India there has arisen in Islam a band of enlightened men, small in number, but, we trust, continually increasing, who endeavour to reconcile the dogmas of their ancient creed with the facts of modern progress; and to combine their profession of faith in God and the Prophet with the free thought and free speech which are the essential features of Christian civilisation. In fact, they aim at rationalising Islam, and they have been dubbed by their fellow countrymen "Naturi," meaning nature-worshipppers, from the English word nature, which has no good equivalent in Arabic or Persian. Their efforts as yet meet with no sympathising response from the masses of their co-religionists, though there is no doubt that English toleration, and the spectacle of a number of rival religions peacefully existing together, have done much in India to soften the bigotry and intolerance common to Islam.

Sir William Muir, who, though uniformly just and fair in his presentation of facts, is perhaps unduly biased in favour of Christianity, does not believe in this Rationalising of Islam. "The Koran," he says, "has so encrusted the religion in a hard and unyielding casement of ordinances and local laws, that, if the shell be broken, the life is gone. A Rationalistic Islam

would be Islam no longer."

To the mass of Moslems in India, "Naturi" is simply synonymous with "Be-namaz," a man who breaks the law of Islam, makes no distinction between lawful and unlawful, clean and unclean, and is at heart an infidel; and the new departure is as great a stumbling block to the Musalmans to-day, as was

Christianity to the Jews eighteen-hundred years ago.

If we may judge of the future from the events of the past, we may safely predict that, before the expiry of another century, the whole Moslem world will be subject to Christian Powers: and Islam will virtually have ceased to count as a political force. But, as a religion, it will probably continue to exist for an indefinite and quite incalculable time,

We see that Judaism, divorced from a country and from a polity, survived, and still flourishes as a religion after the lapse of seventeen centuries. Islam may similarly long survive the departure of its sceptre, as it has already survived the breaking of its sword: impervious to the arguments of Christianity or to the ridicule of Philosophy, it may long continue to enjoy an existence of blissful ignorance and harmless bigotry among the unprogressive races of mankind to whom its tenets appear so congenial, like the Tartars of Central Asia and the Negroes of Northern Africa.

ART. IV.-A GIRL'S LIFE IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

IFE in India in the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth was very different from that of the present time; yet, perhaps, in comparing the two, the surprise is greater at the resemblances than at the differences. The climate is, no doubt, the reason of this, added to the conservatism of Indian nature, which helps to keep us all as much as possible in the ways of our forerunners. Such a comparison has lately occurred to the writer, in looking over an old book, come across while rambling through the Mofussil. The District Engineer of —— is a public-spirited man, and, besides attending to the physical wants of travellers along his roads, he supplies their mental needs by neat little shelves of books fixed up in each rest-bungalow. These books beguile many lazy hours in the rains and cold weather, when the rain is pouring without, or when the lamp is lighted, and a long evening of loneliness has to be faced. As he has begged them from all quarters, they are rather a mixed collection. Travels, poetry, old magazines and novels repose by the side of manuals of engineering; and works of the highest style of orthodoxy are close companions with their opposite extreme. In one of these collections there is a book for young people by Mrs. Sherwood, entitled "The Lady of the Manor," with the date 1844 on its title page. It contains an interesting picture drawn by an eye-witness of a young girl's life in Bengal some fifty years previously. As such faithful portraitures of bygone manners and customs are always amusing, a few extracts may be made from Miss Olivia's tale.*

Although, no doubt, much of fiction enters into the story, the descriptions of life and scenery are presumably an accurate picture. The author herself says, speaking from the mouth of the narrator of the tale: "It is curious, because it presents a view of that kind of life never, as I can recollect, before described by any English writer; and is the more valuable, as it

is, I have every reason to think, a very faithful picture!"

Olivia, who is made to tell her own tale, begins thus: "It is now between sixty and seventy years since my father and uncle went out to India, the one in a civil, the other in a medical capacity. When they left England, my uncle

^{*}Mrs. Sherwood, (born 1774, died 18851) was the celebrated authoress of "Little Henry and his bearer," and many other children's books. She is the same lady who is mentioned in the article on Murshedabad in the last number of this Review.

was married, and, as his wife's sister accompanied them on the passage, my father made so good a use of the opportunities afforded him during the voyage, that he had scarcely arrived in Calcutta before the young single lady consented to become his wife, and was united to him before he left the Presidency. The state of the English possessions in India was very different at that period from what it now is; and our territories, which are now bounded by the towering summits of the Himalaya, at that time extended little further than the Rajmehal Hills. The natives of Hindoostan were then also in a much more barbarous state than they now are, and the few English families who resided in the country, infinitely more ignorant, tyrannical, and greedy of gain than at the present time.

"I was born at a station lying near the river, between Berhampore and Rajemehal, and recollect very little of my

parents."

Her mother died when she was only six years old, and she remained in India, in her father's house, until she was ten, under the charge of a Portuguese ayah, and knowing not a word of the English language. Her childish remembrances are of tawny faces; of a hearse-like coach drawn by bullocks, in which, seated between the knees of her ayah, she was wont to take the air; of wild swampy vegetation; of the bazaar where they often stopped to buy sweetmeats, cakes, and bangles; of wide empty rooms, and the verandah, where she sat in the evening, enjoying the breezes which blew over a garden of roses. She speaks very strongly of the evil put into her mind by the native servants, which she was never able again to forget, and earnestly entreats parents to look anxiously after their children in India, and leave them as little as possible under the care of heathen domestics. At ten years old, accompanied by her ayah, she is sent to England, and put into a fashionable London school. Her appearance must have amused the school-mistress, attired, as she was, "in paunjammahs," shawl, and cap, with ringlets well saturated with cocoanut oil."

The ayah was sent back to her home, and for eight years our heroine underwent a polishing and educational process, which she describes as being merely an outward one, no care being taken to improve her moral nature, so sadly neglected, or to draw out higher thoughts and hopes from her girlish heart. The stocks and dumb-bells formed part of the training, so did English, French, writing, music and drawing; she knew "how to courtesy gracefully, was taught to be careful of her dress at church and in the dancing-room; learnt to speak good

Olivia, having lived in India in the days before Hunter, spells Indian words according to her own fancy, and her quaint orthography has been left uncorrected.

English, to embroider muslin, and to appear as amiable as

most other young ladies."

Such was Miss Olivia at eighteen, when ready to go back to her father in India. He was now settled at Monghyr (described as a most beautiful station in Bengal, enclosed, on the one hand, by the Rajemehal Hills, and, on the other, by the Ganges), while her uncle resided at Bauglepore, lower down the river. This uncle had also lost his wife, who had left one daughter, Euphemia, a very superior and well brought up girl. She had married a young civilian named Fairlie, and was also living at Bauglepore. The uncle had, however, made a second marriage with a Cashmerienne, a Mussulmaunee, and they had a large family of sons and daughters, who were brought up in India in a very wretched sort of way.

After a pleasant visit to the elder Fairlies in Worcestershire, where a glimpse into a well-ordered happy English home was afforded her, Olivia started on her voyage under the care of a Mrs. Burleigh, who was returning to her husband in India. Half of the round-house was Mrs. Burleigh's cabin, and here the two spent most of their mornings. Her remark here is: "It is impracticable to give the inexperienced reader any accurate idea of the mode of life commonly pursued on an East Indiaman, where a number of persons of all ages and classes are confined together in one place, with little to do, and few

occasions of acquiring a single new idea."

She and Mrs. Burleigh spent their mornings in looking over and arranging her dresses, and packing, unpacking, and cleaning her trinkets; and the chaperone had much to say of the glories of Indian life, and the magnificence and grandeur which

awaited the civilian's daughter at Monghyr.

She continues: "At three o'clock all the passengers dined together, and I was solicited to drink wine with nearly all the gentlemen at the table, and, as Mrs. Burleigh informed me that I should offend if I refused any of these solicitations, I sometimes certainly took much more than was good for me; and if I did not always walk out from the dining-room very steadily, I trusted that my unsteadiness was attributed to the motion of the vessel. After dinner, we retired for a short time to our cabin, where we received visits from some of the ladies of the other cabins. At tea-time we went out and sat on deck, or concluded the evening with a dance when the weather would permit. . . ."

Manners and customs have changed since this account was written, and the young lady of the present day is not obliged, for courtesy's sake, to take more strong drink than is good for her, nor does she remain a prisoner in her cabin all day until

evening.

The weary journey lagged along, enlivened by a call at the Cape, and, when about three weeks' sail from Bengal, poor Olivia got fever, and lay in her cabin off the cuddy, a prey to weariness and depression, all the rest of the voyage. She attributes her illness partly to the water in the ship having become very foul, and says it was always in a tepid state, a

miserable beverage for her fever-parched lips.

When they came to anchor in Diamond Harbour, they got some fresher water, and she improved, and was able to come out on deck, and watch the bustle of the passengers' departure. Presently there arrived a pinnace from Calcutta, and her name was called out by a gentleman seated on board. In her agitation she almost fainted, but soon recovered. At length her uncle, for so he proved to be, taking her into the cuddy, told her the sad news that her father was dead, and added that he had left her to his charge, and that she was to come and live

with him at Bauglepore.

Poor Olivia, this was a terrible blow. It was not so much grief at her father's death, for she scarcely remembered him, as sorrow for all the bright visions suddenly fled, and for herself condemned, from being a little princess in her father's house, to make one of a party of cousins, about whom she had heard much that was unpleasant. So, in dismal spirits, she commenced her journey up the Ganges. But the voyage, and the pleasant evening walks, when the boats were anchored for the night, and the cool weather, now coming on, soon revived her, and she began to be cheerful again. She describes her uncle as a handsome, white-haired old gentleman, who, however, had become very violent and rude in his manners, falling into passions, and striking the natives, using strong language, and contradicting a good deal. When they were at dinner in the pinnace one of the servants knocked down a goblet, and poured its contents on his coat; whereupon the fiery old Doctor flew into a rage, and, knocking off the offender's turban, sent it through the window into the river.

Olivia thought, if such was his behaviour towards a poor servant, she might expect rough and harsh treatment, but she afterwards found that she had no need of apprehension, for her uncle allowed rather too much liberty to his children, and, although imperious towards the natives, was not, in the main,

cruel or unkind to them.

At last they drew near to Bauglepore, described as "a number of houses belonging to European gentlemen, scattered over a park-like region, which rose above the river to a considerable height." They stopped under a high and precipitous bank, or conka rock, over which the verandah of a bungalow hung like a balcony and, her uncle politely handing her out with a wel-

coming word or two, they climbed some steep and rugged steps, and arrived at his verandah. The bungalow had one large hall in the middle and eight smaller rooms round it, the whole being encircled by a wide verandah. At one side stood a smaller house, connected with the other by a court, encircled by a high wall, shut in by lofty trees. A lovely view of the country was seen from the back of the house with the mountains in the background, in some parts covered with woods, in others bare and rugged, or intersected with deep ravines. Scarcely had they stepped into the verandah, when they were accosted by such a mob of khaunsaumans, kitmutgaurs, bearers, chockedars, circars, chapraussees, etc., as it might be thought would have been counted sufficient to form the suwarree of a Nawab of

Bengal."

Passing through this salaaming crowd, they entered the house. where the table for dinner was already laid, groaning beneath the weight of silver plate. But, as all the sons and daughters were out taking the air, Olivia was given into the care of her new ayah, who took her to a bed-room, which, with dressing and bath rooms attached, was to be her own property. arrangement of her room, with the small bed in the centre and empty space all round, was much the same as is followed now. Her next experience was a long oration interspersed with salaams from the ayah, not a word of which did she under-The ayah was a Mohammedan, and wore paunjammahs of striped Benares silk, a white banyan, her hair divided and combed off her forehead, and hanging in many plaits to her waist, while a thin muslin veil hung over her head and shoulders. Presently there was a rush, into the room of her girl cousins, four in number, the children of her uncle's Mohammedan wife. Of course, they were very dark and Indian looking, and Olivia remarks that, if they had been Rajah's daughters, she might not have thought them bad looking, but the mixture of the European and Asiatic in their manners and appearance did not please her, and the amount of education which a Calcutta school could furnish at that time, did not seem to be of much value. Julia, the eldest, was the best-looking and the smartest in her attire, although the pea-green ribbons with which she was adorned, were not perhaps the best suited to her complexion. Celia and Lucretia were tall, inclined to embonpoint, and had large and obliqueshaped dark eyes; while Lizzie had a good deal of the negro in her appearance.

These four young ladies soon conducted their cousin to the dining-room, or hall, where her uncle and his sons were awaiting their appearance. The "male cousins" were four dark young men, extremely slender in their persons, sprucely dressed in white

nankeen, and with their hair thickly powdered according to the fashion of the day. The dinner was a very profuse and prolonged meal. Olivia's attention was much taken up with the kitmutgaurs who flanked the table round, "a set of whimsicallooking, tawny young men," she calls them. Through the half-open door, she perceived another numerous collection of domestics bringing over the food from the cook-room, and beyond them a small army of crows and jackdaws ready to devour all the remains. The young men cousins, whose names were Stephen, Josiah, Samuel, and Jonathan, made an even

less favourable impression on her than the girls did.

And now she made acquaintance with the youngest of the family, Gertrude, or "Gatty Baba," a child of nine years old, who had never been to school, or had any teaching, and was a naughty, monkey-like being, spoilt to the last degree. "She wore a short frock over long paunjammahs, had bangles on her arms, wore coloured shoes and no stockings, had large earrings and her hair plaited up with abundance of cocoa-nut oil. She used very few English words, but appeared oratorical in her mother tongue, using much gesture when she spoke; and sometimes her language was not all that it should be, to judge from the way in which her sister called her to order now and then. It was amazing to Olivia to see the amount of pish-pash and kedjeree she consumed during dinner, "and how cleverly, flinging away her spoon, she jerked the latter out of her hand with her thumb into her mouth, with a dexterity that an English child would. have imitated in vain. She sat, too, in a most peculiar fashion, her lower limbs neatly folded up under her, and, as soon as she had finished her meal, she began some of those practical jokes by which she not unfrequently relieved the weariness of life. Tumbling out of her chair with something like the activity of a monkey, she ran out of the nearest door, and presently appeared again, stealing in with gentle steps and bare feet (for she had disencumbered herself of her shoes) with a small dead mouse in her hand, which she very dexterously contrived to fasten to her eldest brother's hair, which was tied in a queue; then, slipping back to the open door, she stood still and called out in Hindustani to her brother, asking everybody to look at him. A disturbance ensued, the brother rising angrily, the rest laughing, the father knocking loudly on the table, in the midst of which Gatty Baba fled, and took refuge in her mother's apartment, as her frequent custom was.

After dinner, as they sat in the verandah, Olivia gleaned from her cousins some particulars as to the curious household she had entered. The sons did nothing but ride and shoot, and pay occasional visits to their father's indigo works. Their education was almost nil. A sergeant had taught them to read and

write, and they had been to school at Chandernagore for a few years, and learnt a little French. Two of them had tried business in Calcutta and had given it up; in short the end of them would be, according to Julia, that they would turn indigoplanters in the jungles, a position apparently less thought of then than now. Presently Gatty Baba created a disturbance, for, her attendant, with whom she was walking on her lawn, wishing to prevent her from sucking a sour lime, she kicked, struggled, and scolded; and at "at length, very dexterously pulling off her shoe, she applied it with such force to the ear of her chupraussie that she sent his turban rolling down the slope on which they were standing." On this her sisters intervened, and dragged her away, calling her a plague and scolding her well. A visitor arrived at this juncture, Mrs. Fairlie, the halfsister of the young people, and a very charming person. She asked Olivia to spend a day with her, and bring Gatty, which Olivia very gladly promised to do.

And at last night came, and the tired girl took her rest in her strange surroundings under her mosquito-curtains, while her women-servants stretched themselves on their rosaies at a little distance. She describes the whizzing, spinning sound caused by the multitude of insects, and the mournful shout or cry of some devotee, or boatman, which were the only sounds that broke the stillness, nor can we be surprised at hearing that, after such an introduction to her future Indian life, she could not sleep until she had wearied herself with weeping.

The next day was Sunday, her first Indian Sunday, a sad surprise to her, as to many who come to up-country stations in our own day. It was late before the family assembled for breakfast, and there were some strangers at the meal, a Mr. Fitz-Henry, a particularly fascinating youth, two elderly indigo-planters, and a taza wilaut, i. e., a young Englishman who had not been many months in the country. The breakfast was very elaborate, but, except the taza wilaut, who thoroughly enjoyed the salted humps and guava jelly, no one ate much, and the older Indians seemed almost wholly devoted to their hookahs. Many and wondrous tales of tiger-shooting from the lips of her worthy cousins enlivened the meal, and Olivia was almost frightened at the idea of sleeping in her own room, until she observed a certain expression on the upper lip of Mr. Fitz-Henry which caused her to think that there was perhaps not so very much danger after all. After breakfast several boxes and chests were brought to her apartment, containing the things left for her by her father, and, as it afterwards turned out, all he left. She was in fact dependent on her uncle, and this caused a great grief to come upon her in after times. For Mr. Fitz-Henry at first paid her great attentions.

and won her heart, but when the fact came out that she was penniless, he quickly retired, and offered himself, instead, to her cousin Julia, who had a fortune of her own, left her by her Armenian godmother, old Mrs. Arabella Sophronisba Dorothea de Clessos. Nevertheless it was Olivia whom he really preferred, only money was an object to him, his affairs being much involved.

However, to return to the young ladies hanging fondly over the multitude of shawls, precious stones, Benares silks, jindellies, even pearls and diamonds, which filled the The contemplation of these treasures filled up the time till near tiffing, and they were all being put away when Gatty, followed by a Muglanee ayah, burst in, and seizing hold of a superb piece of kinguab, which Olivia was just putting away in one of the trunks, tried to drag it away, gabbling vociferously all the time. A struggle ensued, whereon the sisters intervened; and then it appeared that the child wished her cousin to present this piece of silk to her mother. Olivia did not object. and a proper message was sent through the ayah. A few fraternal differences now took place between Stephen, who entered the room uninvited, and Julia; after which tiffing was served, the father being in a furious rage because all had not assembled at the first call. Strong beer was consumed in large quanti-

ties at this meal, after which all retired to sleep.

In the evening, Olivia was invited to go and call on the Begum, as everybody called the lady of the house. Having passed through the bungalow, they entered a clean square court, sprinkled with water. Opposite was another bungalow, and at each side smaller houses for the female servants. Entering the verandah, which was furnished only with a mat, tum-tum, and some brass hookahs, they passed through an ante-chamber into the centre apartment, a large white-washed room with many doors; it was covered with matting, but in the centre was a square carpet, over which was extended a piece of silk of the same size as the carpet, from which hung curtains of gauze, these, at this time, being knotted up in the centre. On this carpet was spread a smaller, of finer texture, and a variety of cushions of brocaded silk, forming as it were the back and sides of a sofa. "In the centre of these cushions, and scarcely appearing to have more life or animation than the cushions themselves, sat the Begum, a little corpulent old woman, who looked vastly older than my uncle himself She was dressed in paunjammahs of Benares silk, a short loose jacket of very thin muslin, trimmed with silk, and over her head and shoulders a superb Cashmere shawl. Her cheeks and neck were so large, from her habits of extreme indolence, that her whole face was disfigured. Behind her

stood a splendid hookah with a mouthpiece of agate, and a very superb gold paun-box lay on one side. She had a variety of bracelets on her arms and ankles.

"She scarcely moved when we appeared, but bowed when we drew nearer, and motioned to us to sit down, chairs being offered by the servants; for I should have told you that there were a number of women ranged on each side of the place where the old lady sat, though without the cushions; but such a

group I had seldom seen.

"When we were seated, the old lady addressed something to me, which being interpreted, I found was that she was glad to see me, and thanked me for the very handsome present I had sent her; and, these compliments being passed, a silence followed, which was beginning to be awkward,—at least to me when I was suddenly relieved by the voice of Gatty, who came bouncing into the room, followed by her Muglanee ayah. It was not a little amusing to see her come tumbling over the cushions, and nestle herself into a corner by her mother, while not a muscle of the old lady's face varied in the smallest perceptible degree, though Gatty was the favourite

child of both parents.

"But though the Begum herself did not reprove Gatty for her want of ceremony, Miss. Julia, who had her private reasons for hating this favourite child, did not fail to say something which provoked her; for she began to jabber in reply with so much loudness and vehemence . . . that the Muglanee ventured to put in a word, in a kind of whining, wheedling tone, which was probably meant to conciliate both sisters; but, if meant to produce this effect, it certainly failed of its end, for the enraged child, turning all her fury against the ayah, took one of the silk pillows, and aimed it with all her force at her. The pillow, however, being heavy, fell at the woman's feet, who, taking it up and shaking it, placed it quietly in its usual place, and then withdrew into the background of the scene."

Shortly afterwards the visit came to an end and they returned to the large bungalow, where dinner was soon served, Mr. Fitz-Henry and the Civil Surgeon's wife being guests. This lady is described as having become half an Indian from long residence; she had acquired a haughty indifference of manner, was devoted to finery, drank a great quantity of beer,

was excessively stout, and smoked her hookah in public.

"After dinner, the ladies withdrew to my cousins' chamber, where Mrs. Ellison (the lady above described) was favoured with a sight of the last Europe fashions, and had the pleasure of trying several of my best lace caps on her own head before a looking-glass, a circumstance which I did not altogether enjoy, as I did not think my peach-blossom and sky-blue satin

linings would be greatly benefited by the near approach of the lady's hair, which had much the appearance of being well saturated with cocoa-nut oil; neither could I ever afterwards fancy my pea-green silk mantle, after it had been brought into contact with her olive-green neck. But enough of this. The exhibition of fashions having been concluded, we went out into the verandah, where tea and coffee being served, we were presently joined by the gentlemen " After this came dancing, to the great surprise and indignation of the English girl, and though she at first steadily refused to join, Mr. Fitz-Henry succeeded in persuading her; so, stifling her conscience by force, she finished the evening as gaily as any of her com-

panions, and thus ended her first Sunday.

The next, however, was spent in better company, as she and Gatty were asked to go to Mrs. Fairlie's, and accordingly, very early in the morning, they mounted an elephant, and started on their little excursion. She describes the view of the vale of Bauglepore as being very pretty, dotted over with houses, clusters of trees, and herds of buffaloes. A thick dew was on the grass, and the bed of the Nulla, though out of sight, might be traced by the fog that arose from it. Presently Gatty, as they arrived at a cross-road, gave some imperious order, in response to which the head of the elephant was turned, and they dashed into a deep road, enclosed by trees which by degrees led them into a bazaar, "The bazaar with its streets filled by pariah dogs, miserable children, praying, or rather howling devotees, scolding women, and quarrelling men, creatures just arousing from drunken insensibility, horns, tum-tums and horrible trumpets, women with jingling bangles on their ankles, and other abominations, burst upon their view as they advanced." Gatty had the elephant stopped at a hovel, whence issued an old woman, and then ensued a bargaining for sweetmeats, pernicious compounds of "gee" and sugar. As soon as the young lady had got all she wanted, they turned back, and presently found themselves in a very pretty part of the station, where hills were quite near, and a fine water-fall dashed down

Arrived at Mrs. Fairlie's, they found the family at prayers, or rather morning service, while, joined with them, were a few others who cared about keeping Sunday as it was meant to be kept. And then ensued a happy, quiet day, Euphemia making much of both her grown-up cousin and her little half-sister, and speaking kindly words to each. It was evident that she possessed a strong influence over the wilful little girl, who returned home silent and subdued.

Some time passed on. Olivia had an elderly admirer, a Mr. Milbourne, a civilian, for whom she cared nothing, her

thoughts being occupied by the faithless Fitz-Henry. One day her ayah informed her that the Begum had fever, and was very ill. She was being attended by a skilful person from the bazaar, who caused many charms and incantations to be used, while she was mulled and kneaded with oil every day according to the custom of the country. Olivia herself had fever at this time, and was much depressed, dreading the coming on of the hot weather extremely. Near the end of February, most of the family, including the father, were away, when one evening Olivia was much startled at her ayah's telling her that the Begum was very ill, and not expected to live till morning. It seemed terrible to her that the mother of the family was left to perish in this way, but her tempest of indignation spent itself in vain on the apathetic Lizzy and heartless Stephen, who were the only ones at home, so that at last she went to her room. and lay down without undressing, with a gauze veil over her face to keep away the mosquitos. After some hours she woke suddenly, to find her women standing by her. They were lifting up their skinny hands, staring wildly, and making use freely of a sacred name. At the same moment hollow cries and frightful shrieks, terminating in certain prolonged tones, were heard at a distance. "What is the matter?" she cried. "Do explain it to me?" "The Begum is no more," replied the ayah, screwing up her features into a horrible grimace, with which she tried to hide her absolute want of all feeling, and she ended her speech with a groan, which was echoed by the matrannee in another key. "No more!" I said, "and my uncle not here; and poor Gatty absent;" and, immediately lighting a wax taper by the chiragh, I went out into the hall." However, she found all dark, and all doors locked, and after waiting about, and seeing nobody, and hearing the dreadful noises still continuing, she was obliged to return to her own room, where she wept herself to sleep.

Next morning she was informed by her servants that the Begum's funeral was to take place that evening, and that she was to be buried in the Mussalmaun burying-ground, a gloomy field of tombs that she had seen not far from the foot of one of the mountains. It was a great shock to her to hear that the poor woman had thus lived and died in the Mahomedan religion without any attempt having been made to enlighten her, and so great was her sorrow, that she kept her room all day, only going out into the verandah in the evening. From thence she beheld the sad procession, the body carried, as she believed, on a bedstead, and a numerous company following it with mournful cries. Whether Stephen was there or not, she

could not distinguish, her eyes were too dim with tears.

After this sad event, Olivia, with the sorrowing little Gatty,

went to stay with Euphemia Fairlie for some time, and the kind attention Olivia received soothed her broken spirit, for shortly afterwards she heard of Julia's marriage to Mr. Fitz-Henry at Monghyr, and of their settling down at Bauglepore. Anger against, and contempt for, a man who could behave in such a manner, also helped to work a cure, and after a time, she was able to return to her uncle, who meanwhile had sent two of his sons with Lizzy to keep them company, to the indigo factories, and Samuel to a merchant's office in Calcutta. Another daughter went to live with Julia, so the family circle became much reduced.

About fourteen months thus passed away, when Mr. Milbourne, who had asked her to become his wife, again returned to the station and renewed his attentions, more successfully this time. She accepted him, and they were shortly married, and departed to his station, which is described as being not very far distant from Bauglepore, situated at the foot of the

hills, in one of the finest situations in Bengal.

Here is her description of her new home, which can hardly be taken from any real place thereabouts :- " Picture to yourself a range of hills covered with forests, inclining in a mighty sweep to the river Ganges; and a noble puckah house, flat roofed, and encircled by a colonnade of pillars, standing on a large and verdant lawn on a gentle slope among these hills, yet so near the river, as to command a large extent of water; and the view of an ancient temple, or pagoda, built on the opposite bank, amidst a cluster of the finest and most beautiful trees. Such was my husband's place of abode, and great indeed was the elevation of my mind, when I first beheld this noble mansion and glorious domain; for glorious indeed it seemed to be, whether I looked up to the deep-blue azure of the sky, or the palm-crowned summits of the hills in the background, or down on the shadowy ravines, the green and spacious lawns, or the wide and sparkling bosom of the far-famed Gunga. I was And so she settled down to a filled with pride. . life of such luxury and splendour as does not now often fall to the lot of poor Anglo-Indians, though, perhaps, after all, we are better off, with our frequent trips home and our prompt communications therewith, which keep us in touch with England and preserve us from becoming semi-orientalised, as Olivia Milbourne became after some years of this luxurious and indolent existence.

She describes her lazy days; how she rose early and "took the air" on an elephant, and then retired to bed; how, at ten o'clock, the breakfast, at which there were always guests whom she entertained, while her husband was deeply engaged with his hookah, was served; and then followed reading of

light literature, and looking after no fewer than four dirgees, as she calls them. Indeed, as looking after one gives a lady a good deal to do now-a-days, this part of her day cannot be called idle, at all events! At tiffing, more visitors, then a doze, and an evening airing. "It was one of the pleasures of my life (if such absurd amusements are worthy the name) to see the variety of equipages, horses and elephants which were paraded every evening in front of our house; among which was a handsome phaeton, a ton-jon, an elephant with his superb howdah, a gig or buggy, as we called it, other carriages of inferior note, and several saddle-horses; and it was not seldom during the cold season, that, after having surveyed all these, I have dismissed them, every one, and preferred a walk in one of the ornamental pleasure-grounds which surrounded the house." A splendid dinner, followed by cards played to a late hour, concluded the day.

A year after her marriage, a baby-girl was born, to which she gave the then fashionable name of Mary Anne, and, shortly after, they went, embarking in a splendid pinnace, to pay a visit to Bauglepore, which they reached in a few days. The poor old uncle was found deeply bowed with grief. Gatty, his favourite child, lay dying at her sister's house; his sons were turning out very badly; Mr. Fitz-Henry was supposed to be running into greater extravagance than ever, and another daughter had made an imprudent match.

Poor little Gatty died a day or two after. The wild heathenlike child had become changed and softened by the influence of her sweet elder sister, and her deathbed was a peaceful and happy one. A kind old clergyman, then staying there, baptized her before her death, this never having been done before, and she passed away with words of faith and hope upon her lips, only disturbed by the thought of her mother lying far away in the dismal burying-place. Better for her to die than to live and grow up what her sisters were; yet her change, when receiving a little Christian training, only showed that they, too, might have been very different, had they had any advantages while growing up. The bereaved family met at their evening meal, and the father tried to respond to Mr. Milbourne's kind efforts to interest him in conversation. Stephen and Lizzy, the only other members of the family present, had an ill-concealed air of satisfaction on their sallow faces, which caused Olivia to regard them with more aversion than ever.

Suddenly there entered the room, in great disorder and confusion, Mr. Fitz-Henry, who begged the old Doctor to allow him a few minutes' private conversation, and carried him, though with reluctance, to his study, where they shut

themselves in. Nothing was said for a few minutes; then Stephen remarked: "That fellow has been at some of his pranks again, as sure as I am alive." "What pranks?" asked Olivia. "Swindling of some sort," he replied carelessly, and went on to prophesy a bad end for the unfortunate young man. It appeared that he had been appropriating Government money and trying to borrow to replace it. In fact, Mr. Milbourne himself had lent him a sum, but how much, he would not inform Stephen, whose rude exultation, and utter want of feeling, disgusted both husband and wife. The voices within became louder, and the Doctor's voice was heard to say; "Put those pistols down, Sir; don't play off those things on me?" Next moment there was a scuffle,—the report of a pistol. -a groan,-and, before the door could be opened, Mr. Fitz-Henry was dead,—self-murdered. It may easily be conceived what horror seized on the family. Olivia fainted, and was carried to her tent, and her husband bore her off in their pinnace, early next morning, anchoring some miles away for the day, a long and dreary one, during which Mr. Milbourne slipped away, and was absent for some hours, Olivia too well knew for what purpose. Such was the end of her first love, for whom she had so deeply grieved, when want of fortune had separated them.

Her husband surrounded her with kindness and affection, but it was many months before she recovered her spirits after the terrible shock. At length, however, the birth of a son cheered her, and afterwards two more little girls were added to the family. She made a lovely garden, with a pavilion in the centre, during these years, and took great pleasure in her sweet little children, entertaining also largely, and being very contented with her lot. The good clergyman, Mr. Arnot, who had baptized Gatty, did the same for her four children, and tried to lead their mother to higher thoughts, but as yet in

vain.

Alas! her happiness was short-lived. Her boy was suddenly carried off by a short illness, and laid to rest in the garden of roses. Little Mary Anne was sent home in charge of a friend, and the two younger children also died of fever, and were buried with their brother. So, in a short few months, all was silence, and gloom and melancholy settled on the house. Olivia here remarks: "No persons who live in Europe can have an idea of the solitary and isolated feelings of Europeans in some situations in India. It is astonishing how heavily time often passes at these places, and what a sameness and dulness it leaves on the mind. There are no impressions, arising from revolving months and seasons, as in higher latitudes; no periods in which the trees lose all their

leaves; when the days become short, the windows are closed, and the pleasures of the family circle are realised round the cheerful fire; no seasons in which the heart is cheered by the renewal of nature, and the renewed bloom of fields and gardens,-but everything in these warmer regions wears an unchanging aspect, and even public news is old and stale before it reaches the ear. Here is no enjoyment of rural walks and rural scenery, or even of public pleasures, or the stir of town life; no sound of bells to mark the Sabbath; and even every book must be far-fetched and dearly purchased. It requires the energy of a noble mind, indeed, to retain an active spirit in regions so depressing, both to the bodily and intellectual powers; and, perhaps, without religion, there are very few instances in which Incia has not utterly destroyed all vigour of mind in persons who have long resided in its more retired situations.'

Many years passed away, and our heroine sank more and more into those Oriental ways which the climate induced. She describes herself as taking a great deal of strong beer and claret, as beginning to smoke a hookah, and getting by degrees so devoted to it, that she used it without hesitation before the largest company, of dress and ornaments becoming her delight, and of receiving many shawls and other presents from the natives who had business with her husband, concealing the fact, however, from Mr. Milbourne—a very sad picture, and a great change from the Olivia who came out at the age of eighteen. In proportion as she thus degenerated, her husband and she became more and more alienated; for he was climbing an upward path, under the influence of his friend, Mr. Arnot, and deep was the silence on religious matters

between husband and wife.

At last, when Mary Anne was old enough to come out, and her mother's mind was full of projects of grandeur and splendour for her, they received a letter from the son of Mrs. Fairlie, begging for their approval to a match between the two, as an attachment had sprung up between them. This was a bitter disappointment to the ambitious mother, especially as she found her husband was much pleased, and disposed to give his consent. In fact, her disappointment and anger brought on a severe illness, after which, during convalescence, her heart became softened, and her husband and she broke down the barrier between them, and conversed freely. She saw the evil of her ways, and wished she could reform, and at last they agreed to return to England, and settle down near their daughter, married by this time, for the rest of their days. It was sad to leave the little graves in the garden of roses, but it had to be done. Old servants were pensioned, furniture was sold, and VOL. XCV.]

they embarked in their pinnace for Calcutta. All her ill-gotten treasures were disposed of, and the proceeds devoted to charity, her hookah, strong beer and claret were laid aside, and thus

they left behind their Indian life.

In Calcutta they met their old uncle once more, much broken and saddened, and, after spending three months with Mr. Arnot. they bade both an affectionate farewell, and started for their five months' voyage to England. Dr. Richardson did not long survive their departure, but died rather suddenly, under Mr. Arnot's roof in Calcutta, of an attack of liver disease, very subdued and penitent. The sons and daughters became each year more degraded and discreditable, and sank down completely from their former level. Julia still lives with her second husband, an old surgeon, near the Lal Bazaar, and is sunk deeply into the lowest order of half Indian and half-European morals and manners. Celia, who had married a planter in the Sunderbunds, was with him lost in the jungles. The two young men in the hills are completely amalgamated with the natives. Lucretia married a Sergeant-Major in the Company's Service, and died soon after, leaving one child. Lizzy and Stephen live together in an indigo-factory in the Sunderbunds. Mrs. Fairlie sent for the little daughter of Lucretia, who was then in the orphan school of Calcutta, having lost her father as well as her mother, and who is named Gertrude, hoping to bring her up in a better way in England.

Meanwhile, the Milbournes had the joy of being re-united to their daughter, her husband and the new little grandchild which awaited them, and when the story comes to a conclusion they are spending a happy old age near the young family, in a

comfortable, though not magnificent, dwelling.

So ends the tale, as many Indian stories end, in a peaceful winding-up of life in the old country, after the storm and strife of life in India—storm and strife for the men, monotonous dulness and ennui too often for the wives. Happy are those, who, like the Milbournes, can go together, and when one is not left behind, sleeping in a neglected grave, while the other returns alone. Happy are those too, who, now-a-days, need not bear many years of this dulness and monotony without the break of a run home, and who have the hill stations to recruit in, and can, at a day's notice, start off thither, to return refreshed and strengthened to their stations in the plains.

Parents in these days need not leave three out of four little ones in graves in a garden of roses. They can have them growing up in the hills, with cheeks as rosy as if they were in

England.

ART. V.—THE CONCORDAT.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

FEW months ago the world of politics in France was greatly agitated by a question that concerned religion. A French archbishop had refused to obey the law, and a Government prosecuted. These events were the more surprising, that the French administration concerned had been distinguished by its moderateness in religious matters. Even the name of the Prime Minister was almost a guarantee against high-handed measures. Far from wishing to agitate France, he was only anxious to repair disasters, and to perfect her military reorgani-Naturally a Ministry presided over by such a statesman would be careful to avoid needless foreign complications. When the French pilgrims returned from Rome, where they had occasioned a dangerous riot, this Ministry deemed it advisable to mark its displeasure at clerical interference in other countries by some act of authority, and it required M. Gonthe-Soulard, the Archbishop of Aix, who had conducted the pilgrimage, not to leave his diocese again without permission. The Government acted conformably to the law of the land, still M. Gonthe-Soulard indignantly protested in a letter to the Minister of Public Worship, refused to consider himself bound by the Ministerial order, and advised his episcopal colleagues to disregard such injunctions. The consequence of this letter was the trial and condemnation of the insubordinate Archbishop.

It is not, however, our purpose to describe events which were lately the common topic and the theme of many able critics. But we propose to consider the Concordat, which regulates the conduct of the French Government in its relations with religion. This famous agreement is threatened at the present time. Its further existence will soon be the great question of the day. Still, few English readers, we believe, are likely to be familiar with all its principal clauses, and so it may not be without interest for them if we narrate briefly its origin and details.

A true Concordat is a synallagmatic treaty—a mutual agreement between two parties—concluded between the temporal Sovereign of a country and the Pope. The pragmatic sanctions of Saint Louis and Charles VII cannot, therefore, come under this denomination. These established that ecclesiastical dignities should be conferred by election, interdicted the Pope from collecting taxes in the kingdom, declared the supremacy of Councils over the Pope, and the dependence of the former on the King. Papal bulls and briefs were not to be received in France save by the consent of the King, and the latter judged, in the last resort, all questions of ecclesiastical discipline.

Hence arose the appeal (" appel comme d'abus") to oppose all the vexations and hindrances of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

But the Papal Court could not submit to measures so derogatory to its dignity and injurious to its power, and Leon X concluded the first real Concordat in France with Francis I in

1516.

This agreement was almost entirely directed against the lay and popular element in the Church. Both King and Pope were favoured at its expense. Elections by chapters were abolished, as well as annats that were levied on behalf of the Pope, and appeals to the Holy See established. The right of nominating bishops and conferring benefices was transferred to the King.

This Concordat was vehemently opposed by the Parliament and University, who declared that it encroached on the rights of the people. "The Pope," they said, "yielded what was spiritual to the King, and the King yielded his temporal power to the Pope." At last the resistance of these two bodies was overcome: the Concordat became the law of the land, and was registered on March 15th, 1519. Its action was, however, always opposed. Even Francis I afterwards expressed keen regret that he had signed it. Clergy and Parliament constantly demanded its abolition. Its authority was ignored, and the old pragmatic edicts were often the sole laws observed. Ecclesiastics gradually became more servile to the Monarchy, and, under Louis XIV, successfully resisted the power of the Pope.

The Kings of France possessed a 'Droit de Regale,' or Kings' right, by which they were enabled to enjoy the revenue of benefices when they were vacant. In the reign of Louis XIV this right was protested against by two bishops. The Metropolitan took the part of the 'Grand Monarque,' the Pope intervened, annulled the decision of the superior prelate, and pronounced in favour of the protesting bishops. Afterwards he excommunicated the Metropolitan, the 'Vicaires Generaux' and parish priests, and declared confessions and marriages

in their dioceses invalid.

The French clergy convoked a Council of their members and voted on March 19th, 1682, the 'Declaration of the Clergy,' or ecclesiastical power. It stipulated that the authority of St. Peter's successors should be duly recognised in spiritual matters; it acknowledged the authority of the Œcumenical Council of Constance and in particular its decrees, which testified to the supreme authority of General Councils; the privileges of the Gallican Church were secured, and it was declared that the judgment of the Holy See was not irrevocable till the opinion of the Church had confirmed it. The number of archbishops and bishops present at the Council was 34, and a Royal Edict of March 23rd, 1682, gave force to the declaration

which ensured the independence of Catholics in France against

ultramontane aggression.

The Concordat of 1516 was definitely abolished in 1791 by the Constitutent Assembly, which restored ecclesiastical elections, re-established the Civil Constitution of the clergy and obliged prelates and priests to swear allegiance to the State. Naturally, many of them refused to submit to secular dictation, and a painful persecution was directed against those who would not take an oath of obedience to the State. The latter were called unsworn priests (prêtres non-assermentés), while those who complied with the State, were named sworn priests (prêtres asser-

mentés).

The Directory established an era of complete liberty in matters of faith. Religion once more raised her head. The Christian sentiments of France revived. Catholic worship was conducted in 32,204 parishes, and nearly 500 more demanded the restoration of their old ceremonies. Thiers has remarked that the services conducted by unsworn priests were far better attended than those of the sworn ones. The latter were considered intruders by the orthodox. To please the State, the prêtres assermentés were said to have sullied the purity of their faith. A great many were married—as many as 10,000 according to one authority,—and their marriage was not likely to raise them in the estimation of an ancient Catholic

people, accustomed to a celibate clergy.

We now approach the time when Napoleon had succeeded in restoring the fallen fortunes of his country. He had been elected to the highest post in the State. He was First Consul, and on the point of concluding a peace at once glorious to his country and necessary to Europe. He longed to consummate a foreign treaty, to promote by some great measure that domestic tranquillity which France needed so much. He was the popular idol and could guarantee order, but it was impossible for him to dictate to the consciences of his countrymen. Nothing, however, was more important for their welfare than the cessation of religious discord; and the hero, whose progress neither the Alps nor the desert could arrest, was not to be daunted by the magnitude of his task. He confidently hoped to remove the last trace of religious disunion, at the same time that a Te Deum was chanted at Notre Dame in return for peace. He wished to re-unite his countrymen in their allegiance to the Pope, but to place it in his own hands. With the help of a Concordat, he hoped to be master of all, thanks to his armies, his victories, and his great influence.

The Pontiff who occupied the Holy See at this time was Pius VII. He was a man of sincere piety and of a gentle and forgiving nature. No sacrifice was too great for him if he

could restore the Catholic Faith to its former position. When the First Consul was still only a successful General, he had shown Pius VII sympathy and respect. Besides, the latter felt himself strongly attracted to Napoleon by the splendour of his talent and his evident desire for the restoration of religious unity.

Informed of his wish to begin negotiations in this intent, Pius VII sent Monsignor Sping to Paris as his representative. The latter was placed in communication with Abbè Bernier, a priest who was already famous, through the part he had

played in the pacification of La Vendée.

The point of departure for the new Concordat was the Civil Constitution decreed in 1790. By that agreement the number of bishops had been diminished, and they had been placed under the hand of the prefects. The Constitutional clergy were allowed to marry, and the lands of the Church were confiscated and sold. The principal concessions which Napoleon hoped to obtain from the Pope were, a reduction in the number of Sees, which were far too numerous for the real religious wants of the country, and his own scheme of ecclesiastical administration. He also demanded that the Pope should impose on the bishops the resignation of their Sees. He required that all parties in the Church should be represented in the nomination of the new prelates, and that the Constitutional clergy should be amnestied by the Holy See. The married priests were to be forgiven, and the sale of the Church property was to be recognised.

After a tedious negotiation, which lasted for many months, the plenipotentiaries were no nearer the accomplishment of their task than before. Napoleon refused to declare, in the preamble of the Concordat, that the Catholic Faith was the "State Religion." M. de Cacault was the representative of the First Consul at Rome. He was entrusted with the difficult mission of concluding the new agreement with the Pope. The latter referred it to a Council of 12 cardinals, who included Gervandini, Antonelli, and Gerdi, all well-known ecclesiastics. It was declared inacceptable. At last Napoleon lost patience, and announced that, if the Concordat were not signed within five days, he would withdraw his ambassador. He is even said to have threatened to detach France from the Catholic Faith.

The terror of the Papal Court on receipt of this ultimatum was extreme. At that time Rome was menaced at once by Italian patriots, whose influence was already strong throughout Italy, and by Neapolitan banditti. A portion of Roman territory had been annexed by the Cis-Alpine Republic, and without Napoleon's countenance and support, the Temporal

Power was in extreme peril.

But M. de Cacault was a man full of resources. He was unwilling that an important treaty, which had been entrusted to his skill, should prove a failure. His first measure was to calm the fears of the Pope and his Council. With this object he proposed to the former to despatch to Paris as legate Cardinal Consalvi whom he should accompany, when he quitted Rome, on the expiration of the five days, in obedience to Napoleon's command. By such a course it would be rendered less apparent that a rupture had taken place; and there was besides a better prospect of negotiating at Paris a treaty which plenipotentiaries had failed to bring to a successful issue at Rome.

Cardinal Consalvi and M. de Cacault left the eternal city in the same carriage and purposely exposed themselves to the gaze of the multitude. The fears of Consalvi were intense. No missionary, who at the present time might visit the disturbed Provinces of China, could regard his expedition with more anxious foreboding than the Cardinal anticipated his journey through the country of Danton and Robespierre. "An abyss separated revolutionary France from the France of the Bourbons and the Lilies." His despatch appeared to him a sentence of death, and he went to his fate like Regulus re-

turning to Carthage.

M. de Cacault had received orders from the First Consul to retire to Florence when the negotiations failed. On arriving at the former place, the Cardinal proceeded on his journey alone. He traversed France in safety, and was cordially and magnificently welcomed at Paris, where, by Napoleon's orders, a sumptuous hotel had been hired and newly furnished for his habitation. For fear lest the arrival of a Papal Legate should excite the ridicule of a sceptical Parisian populace, he entered the capital at nightfall, following the advice of French counsellors. He arrived on June 21st, 1801, and was received by Napoleon in the midst of all the great functionaries of the State. Consalvi soon came to an understanding with Bernier, and so much progress was made, that the Concordat was agreed to in extenso. It was decided that it should be signed on July 10th, but, when it was presented for signature to Consalvi, he perceived that another project was substituted. All the circumstances of this tenebrous affair have not apparently been explained, but they are so curious as to merit investigation. Consalvi, however, finally succeeded in obtaning some modifications of the new draft, and the Concordat was signed on July 15th, 1801.

Its preamble does not recognise the Catholic Religion as "the religion of the State," but as "the religion of the great majority of French citizens,"

Article I declares that the Catholic Religion shall be freely exercised in France, but, conformably to the Police regulations which the Government shall judge necessary.

Article II allows bishops to have chapters in their cathedrals and seminaries in their dioceses, of which a new circumscription

was to be made.

Article III: the titular holders of Sees are exhorted to re-

sign, otherwise the State will replace them.

This article was the occasion of prolonged discussion and almost of the failure of the whole compact. Napoleon wished the Pope to issue a mandate, requiring all French bishops to Pius VII replied: That he had no power to command the resignation of bishops, who had offended against neither discipline nor doctrine: no other Pontiff had issued such an order, and it was quite impossible for himself to make so great an innovation. Nor was he inclined to run the risk of offending the most devoted adherents of the Holy See by punishing legitimists in the persons of their prelates. The difficulty seemed insuperable. It was, however, pleaded, that at the time of the Arian heresy, 400 bishops voluntarily resigned their Sees in Africa, to avoid a schism in the Catholic Church. Was it not possible for French bishops to follow their example? the latter had already, in 1791, sent their resignation to the preceding Pope, Pius VI, when they thought it their duty to do so on account of the Civil Constitution. The latter's successor might now accept their offer, and solve a great problem, if he took these bishops at their word. These arguments had great weight with the Holy See, and when Napoleon's wish was transformed into the law which we find in Article III, the chief obstacle to success was removed, and the Concordat was signed.

The Pope despatched a brief, exhorting all French bishops to resign; the Constitutional bishops, to the number of 50, immediately complied, though they were wounded at the tone of the Pope's missive, which treated them as schismatics; but there was one exception, in the person of Saurin, a bishop much given to agitation; he was the only Constitutional bishop

who preferred to retain his See.

Those prelates who had not taken the oath to the Civil Constitution, had for the most part emigrated, and were spread all over Europe. Fifteen, however, still resided in France. Not one refused to give up his bishopric. De Belloy, who had replaced Belsunce, the noble and humane bishop of Marseilles, set his colleagues the example, and was the first to send in his resignation. The bishops who were performing their duty in France, included the most eminent prelates and famous names; among them were the bishop of Alais, the historian

of Fenelon and Bossuet, Rohan, Latour du Pin, Castillan, Polignac, Clermont de Tonnerre, and La Tour d'Auvergne.

The eighteen bishops who had emigrated to England, were influenced by extreme legitimist sympathies and were advised to retain their Sees. Thirteen refused to accede to the Pope's demand, and only five resigned. Finally the adhesion of the great majority of bishops abroad was obtained. Where the Government failed to secure their resignation, the administration of the Sees, of which they were the titular bishops, was entrusted to "Vicaires Generaux," as the recalcitrant prelates could be replaced only on their death. The whole number of bishops was not to exceed 60.

Articles IV and V stipulated that the nomination of the new bishops was to be made by the First Consul, and their

Canonical institution by the Holy See.

Article VI required the bishops, before entering on their functions, to take an oath of fidelity to the First Consul. The

tenor of the oath was as follows:-

"I promise to have no relations, to assist at no Council, to enter into no foreign or domestic league, which may be contrary to the public tranquillity, and I promise to inform the Government if I should hear of any plot to the prejudice of the State."

Article IX establishes a new circumscription of diocesan

parishes by the bishops.

Article X provides for the nomination of bishops subject to the approval of the Government.

Article XI allows bishops to have chapters in their cathedrals

and seminaries in their dioceses.

Articles XII stipulates that all Churches which have not been alienated, are to be restored, if necessary, to their bishops.

Article XIII ratifies the sale of the property of the clergy.

Article XIV assures a suitable salary to the bishops and their clergy.

Article XV allows French Catholics to establish foundations

in aid of their Churches.

Article XVI recognises that the First Consul professes the same claims to the consideration of the Pope that former French rulers enjoyed.

Article XVII stipulates that, in case the successor of the First Consul should not be Catholic, a new convention should

be made.

The Concordat was signed on July 15th (26 Messidor) and was presented to the State Council for approval on August 6th (8 Thermidor) in the year 1801. On November 22nd (18 Brumaire) an imposing religious ceremony solemnised the peace of religion. The Concordat was published as the law of the land on April 8th, 1802.

The difficulties that had been overcome in order to bring it to a successful issue were immense. Even Napoleon, despite his victories, was exposed to obloquy through his partiality for the ancient religion of France. Many of his most talented ministers were strongly opposed to the Concordat. Talleyrand observed the progress of the negotiations with Napoleon's generals could scarcely contain their malice and hide their sneers, while his own brothers strongly counselled him against the restoration of the Catholic Faith. Napoleon had doubtless gauged more accurately the state of public opinion. Moreover, it would have been hard for him to maintain internal tranquillity, when, in many parishes, there were performed every Sunday two different masses at which rival priests officiated. The unsworn priests were a focus of intrigue against the liberal institutions of the country, and the sole way of procuring peace with Rome was to obtain their allegiance. The majority of Catholics regarded with dislike the ministrations of those priests who had sworn fidelity to the Civil Constitution, as the latter were considered to be State functionaries rather than faithful shepherds of their flocks.

Even if Napoleon had wished to change the religion of his fellow citizens, and to convert them to Protestantism, he would not have been able to constrain their consciences. Believers of this branch of Christianity at the time of the Consulate were comparatively few, and exercised little direct influence on their countrymen. It would have been ridiculous for him to play the part of Henry VIII, nor was he infatuated enough to think he could follow in the footsteps of Mahomet. "I am very powerful now," he exclaimed, "but if I wished to change the old religion of France, she would rise and overthrow me." And again he remarked: "Formerly the country was hostile to the Catholic Religion, but this was at the time that the Government, in agreement with it, burnt books and broke Calais and

Sabarre on the wheel."

The historian of the Consulate and the Empire was a warm advocate of the Concordat. His argument is clear and distinct, though certainly it would not be urged by a partisan of national Churches. "The Pope," he wrote, "is reproached with being a foreign potentate. Heaven be thanked that he is a foreigner. Fancy another authority, resembling that of the State in the same country. If it were united to the Government, this authority would become a despotism like that of the Sultan, and it might become hostile, and the cause of a dreadful and unendurable rivalry. The Pope is out of Paris, and it is well that this is the case; he is neither at Madrid nor Vienna, and that is the reason we endure his spiritual authority."

The conduct of Pius VII during these negotiations was

severely criticised. He was accused of sacrificing the Faith to render the Holy See secure. He was held up to scorn by extreme legitimists and was pilloried in a popular rhyme:—

Pio VI per conservar la Fede Perde la Sede; Pio VII per conservar la Sede Perde la Fede.*

Pius VII however clearly distinguished the good intentions of the First Consul, when the latter ceased to exact an oath of fidelity to the State from the clergy and required a simple promise of submission to the laws. The Pope was willing, as far as concerned himself, to pardon all offences, but was obliged to draw the line, in the interest of Catholicism, at prelates and monks who had broken their vows. Indeed, his temper was naturally so forgiving, that even the violence he suffered at Napoleon's hands at Fontainebleau was insufficient to inspire him with prolonged resentment against his imperial jailor. His readiness to yield in all matters, except those where the vital interests of the Catholic Religion were at stake, may justly be ascribed to the purest motives.

During the Empire religious worship was not disturbed, but an unhappy quarrel arose between the Pope and the Emperor. Still the difficulties between State and Church were far from terminated, though individual consciences were calmed. At the time the 17 articles of the Concordat were voted by the Chambers, a vast code of laws, called 'Les Lois Organiques,' or Organic Laws, was passed. Pius VII had signed the Concordat, but he had not even agreed to the Organic Laws. Yet the latter had equal force with the Concordat as the laws of the land. They regulated religious affairs, though they had not received the consent of the sole power able to give them authority with believers. It may be objected that the Organic Laws only pretend to legislate for matters which connect Church discipline with the administration of the State, but experience has shown that they are able to diminish the independence of the Catholic Religion. The Pope protested against the Organic Laws when they were published. But the state of Catholicism was so precarious, that he was unwilling to come to an open rupture with the Civil authority in France, immediately after a religious peace had been concluded at the price of such immense efforts.

The spirit of these laws was anti-Catholics. Sceptical Frenchmen had been cajoled into approval of the Concordat, but they determined to hamper its provisions as much as possible, and

Pius VI has lost his See to preserve the Faith; Pius VII has lost the Faith to preserve his See.

the Organic Laws were passed in this intent. They were far more dangerous to the welfare of the Church than the quarrel between Napoleon and the Pope, which occasioned the imprisonment and constraint of the latter. But it would be invidious and unnecessary to describe them in detail, though we may be permitted to mention briefly their contents, and point out the provisions that are most at variance with the religious liberty stipulated by the Concordat.

The Organic Laws contain 77 articles, which may be divided into four unequal parts. The first regulates the administration of the Catholic Church in its relations with State Laws and Police. The second part decides the questions which concern ministers of weekling.

ministers of worship.

Article XI forbids bishops to quit their dioceses without the

permission of the First Consul.

This right passed, of course, to subsequent rulers, and it is by virtue of Article XI that M. Gouthe-Soulard, the Archbishop of

Aix, was lately tried and condemned.

Article XXIV refers to the infraction of rules consecrated by the canons received in France. But it has been clearly pointed out that not a single member of the State, entrusted with the application of this law, would be in a position to pronounce what were the true canons that have been received in France from the origin of the Monarchy up to the present time.

This article contains the most noteworthy stipulation of the

third part.

The circumscription of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and parish buildings, destined for worship, and the regulation of the salary of ministers are provided for in the fourth part. Nothing is mentioned concerning the marriage of priests who are not forbidden by their country's laws to enter into matrimony.

Article XLV prescribes that no religious ceremonies shall take place outside the edifices consecrated for public worship in towns where they exist. But this article has been constantly ignored by Catholics, and religious processions are still witnessed in many places. Since the Republic has acquired strength, these processions have usually been forbidden in large cities, though the enforcement of the law has occasioned much discontent among the faithful.

This short enumeration will enable us to perceive that the Organic Laws have passed beyond the provisions of the Concordat, and protect the State to the detriment of the Church. The three articles of the Organic Laws which we have quoted cannot be defended by the Concordat, by whose first article they are not justified, though it stipulates that the Catholic Religion shall be freely exercised in France "conformably to the

Police regulations that the Government shall deem necessary."
But the article of the Concordat does not give the State authority to decide what were the rules consecrated by the canons in France. Indignant bishops might reasonably protest against any interference with their personal liberty, and processions, which have paraded French towns since the introduction of Christianity, might justly protest against Municipal authorities who would drive them back into their Churches, but who could not plead that their conduct was approved by the Concordat.

Denunciations of the Organic Laws have been frequent. Even as late as 1865 all the bishops in France protested against them in the affair of the Pope's encyclical, which was read by a prelate without the permission of the Government.

M. de Montalembert, during his celebrated trial, spoke of these laws as follows: "The Organic Articles are, in our eyes, an important violation of the Concordat. They have never been accepted by the Church. I am aware that they were presented at the same time as the Concordat to the 'Corps Legislatif;' but they were not accepted at the same time by the authority which stipulated with the Church in the name of the State."

They have, as M. de Montalembert has stated, never been consented to by the spiritual power, and the Church can scarcely recognise them as binding, when they form no part of a synallagmatic contract. But if the behaviour of the State is marked with consideration in its dealings with the Church, the Concordat will not, we believe, be in any immediate danger of rupture. It is true the Church has good reason to complain of the Organic Laws, which were certainly an infringement of good faith on the part of the secular power, and conceived in a different spirit from that which motived the Concordat. Should the State, however, arbitrarily enforce them, it is possible that the Church might be goaded into some act of insubordination, and a violent civil storm commence, which would end by sweeping away the Concordat.

A State which tolerates and approves free thought and irreligion, must be in constant conflict with a Church that preaches immutable doctrines. But though the Concordat has made the Catholic Religion in France an institution of the State, and hampered Catholic observances in several important respects, it has still afforded a fair guarantee to Catholics for the free exercise of their religion, and a useful modus vivendi be-

tween conflicting forces.

The Church cannot legally possess other property than shares in State funds, but it has acquired considerable wealth through the charitable bequests of the faithful. When the separation of the Church and State takes place, the property in the funds will be further increased by lavish contributions.

Good Catholics will soon restore their faith to a condition in which it will not be crippled by lack of funds, and they will soon cease to deplore the lost pensions of the State. Its influence will be even greater than before, and its wealth will excite the cupidity of the unprincipled. Real troubles will then threaten, and there will be a danger of persecution and retali-Men will plead their hatred of superstition as an excuse for robbery, and the Church will be again despoiled under

the pretext that her existence is injurious to the State.

Well-known politicians are even now canvassing the country and visiting the large provincial towns with the view, as they candidly state, of exciting agitation against the Concordat. A deputy, whom the writer of these lines chanced to hear, when the former was addressing a large meeting of sympathetic supporters, not only pleaded for its abolition, but openly advised the people to confiscate the Church's present possessions. To compass his anti-Catholic aims, he thought it would be useful to make an appeal to the sordid instincts of the peasantry, and show them what a welcome relief the non-payment of the clergy would be to their pockets.

Notwithstanding much well merited blame which the Catholic Church has incurred, it cannot be forgotten that she has preached Christian morality for some 1,800 years, and, doubtless, if the principles she has so long inculcated were to be abolished by capricious and unstable humanity, the existence of all our

actual institutions would be brief.

The relations between Church and State are always beset with difficulty, and dissension between them will endure till the end of all things. But the object of true statesmen is to render their differences as unprejudicial as possible, and thoughtful politicians are little disposed to promote the rupture of a compact which provides for religion and order. Moreover, the good sense of the majority is decidedly in favour of maintaining a religious treaty which for nearly a century has functioned with considerable advantage. It is probable that, were it abolished, no long time would elapse before it would be keenly regretted.

France is not singular in her religious difficulties, and there are other countries which would be happy to possess so good an arrangemnt as the Concordat. However, laws do not suffice. In France, as elsewhere, it is only by obeying an "unwritten law" which is in the hearts of upright men, that a nation can

hope to preserve peace in questions of religion.

ARTHUR S. HOLMES.

ART. VI.-EARLY ANNALS OF THE INDIAN MINTS

TT is a noticeable fact that Dr. A. Soetbeer, in his book on "The Precious Metals," published in 1886, was unable to furnish any very exact information relating to Indian monetary statistics. On enquiry, however, into official returns and records, I find that this state of things is not so much due to poverty of materials as to an absence of interest in the subject. *The ancient Hindu monetary system was based on gold, and its units of weight and symbols have been thought to point to a Bactrian, and thence to a Greek, origin. The Mahomedans, on the contrary, have usually coined silver, although, their power not being so extensive in the south of the Peninsula. the Hindu system continued to be represented by the mints of a number of petty rajships in Malabar and the Carnatic. The first gold coinage of which I can find any record, is that of the Emperor Jalaluddin, who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century. He issued a gold mohur weighing 163.8 grains and containing 154.84 grains of pure gold. Alaud-din, his nephew and successor, slightly raised the weight and fineness of this coin. Then followed the revietion of the Tughlaks, one of whom forced upon his subjects a decased currency of brass. The suzerainty of the Delhi Emperors in 1398 was disturbed by Tamerlane the Tartar, and, from the date of his raid till the accession of Babar in 1526, there was no central government worthy of the name. Sixteen years later, the silver rupee was introduced, according to Abulfazl, by Sher Shah, who usurped the throne of Delhi in the year 1542. The weight of this coin was 174'4 grains Troy, and it consisted of nearly pure silver. Subsequent emperors preserved jealously the purity of this coinage, and mint assays of these imperial rupees down to 1772 showed a fineness of about 175 grains.

The battle of Paniput restored the line of Babar, and his grandson Akbar the Great re-established the empire, and, amongst other reforms, remodelled the gold currency. His ordinary gold mohur was neary pure and weighed 170.5 grains. From his accession till the extinction of the Moghul rule, the Mahomedan gold coinage preserved, with a few variations,

this weight and purity.

^{*} For the materials of this essay I am chiefly indebted to Prinsep's Useful Tables; a Report by Colonel Hyde, a former Master of the Calcutta Mint; the Records of the Madras Government; the Calcutta Mint Records and Proceedings; Bombay Mint Records in the India Office; and some pamphlets, notably those of Mr. Thurston's, of the Madras Museum.

For the next century little information is available. The East India Company, with its forts and factories, gradually supplanted the Dutch, the French, and the Portuguese, but, with the exception of the Madras pagoda, the coinage of which was somewhat considerable, little gold was minted.

Meanwhile, the commerce of the East India Company was, assuming vast proportions, and their growing need for currency was inadequately met in 1601, by the striking at the London mint of a few silver coins based on the Spanish system of piastres. A few years later, the Company began to export to India, under license, large quantities of treasure, of which

a considerable proportion was gold.

In 1620 a purchase was made, from one of the rajas of Chandragiri, of the spot of ground where the old factory of Madras stood, together with the privilege of coining money: and this resulted in the coinage of what are called three-swami pagodas.* Forty years later, there is a record of a consignment of bullion being coined into pagodas at the mint thus esta-The earliest Bombay coins extant bear the date of 1678, seven years, that is to say, after the cession by the Portuguese + of the Island to Charles the Second. In 1686 the Company obtained, by their new charter, fresh authority to coin; and, two years later, Six John Child obtained by treaty from Muchtar Khan, the Governor of Surat, permission to coin in the Moghul mint there. In 1705 there is record of £12,000 being consigned to Madras for coinage into rupees, and in 1707 the Bengal Council ask that the coinage executed for them at Madras should resemble the rupee of Bahadur Shah. Ten years afterwards, the Emperor Farakh Shir granted the firman to the Company, permitting them to mint his imperial coin at Bombay. The Calcutta Mint must, at this time, have been in disuse; for, after obtaining permission from the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Company, in 1725, rebuilds the silver mint with the consent of the Directors. In the same year the Madras Council are much exercised over the fact that the native mints at Arcot, St. Thome, and Covelong are taking away business from the Company's mint by coining inferior rupees. In 1730 it is resolved to reform the gold pagoda coinage and to raise it again to the Negapatam standard of 85.75 touch. The fineness of the Madras rupee was settled in

^{*} The early history and origin of the pagoda is obscure. Probably first coined by Native States and then by the Dutch, it was at an early period adopted by the Company. A coin of the same name was struck by the Portuguese at Porto Novo, by the Dutch at Pulicat, and at Arcot by the Carnatic Nawabs.

[†] It is probable that the Portuguese coined gold at Goa at an early period; for Pyrard de Laval, writing about 1610, speaks of gold cherafins (xeraphins were silver coins worth about 1s. 6d).

1743, a year after the Nawab of Arcot had granted leave for the erection of a mint in Chindadrepettah. In 1757 the treaty made at Calcutta with Siraj-ud-Daula reserved the Company's right of mintage, and ten years later this mint is known to have been at work with subordinate mints at Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad.

To return to the Mahomedan silver coinage: During the dissolution of the Delhi Empire other mints sprang into existence, as the ministers of the Moghuls, the Mahrattas, and other Hindu chiefs no longer professed allegiance. Abulfazl speaks of fourteen cities having the power to coin silver, amongst which were Agra, Ahmedabad, Cabul, Allahabad, Surat, Delhi, Patna. Kashmir, Lahore, Multan and Tandah; but, at the time of which I am now speaking, the number is unknown. The restraint of a central authority having passed away, the standard of the coinage deteriorates: the rupee of Rohilkhand declines in 1801-2 to the present standard of fineness, the Lucknow rupee to a fineness of 165'2 grains in 1802, the Benares rupee to a fineness of 168.875 in 1812, the Surat or Bombay rupee to 172.4 pure, and later, in 1800, the Company reduces the fineness to a fraction under 165; similarly, in Madras, the Arcot rupee remains about 166.477 pure until 1818, when a rupee of the present standard was introduced. It thus came about that the principal silver coins in circulation, excepting the Bengal sicca* rupee, approximated to a common fineness of 165 grains. Meanwhile, in 1765, Bengal, Behar and Orissa were made over to the Company, who resolved, in 1766, to issue a gold currency. The weight of the new coin was fixed at 17966 grains, the fineness at 149.72 grains, and, at the same time, the value was declared to be sixteen sicca rupees. Being intrinsically worth much less, and containing so large a proportion of alloy, this unpopular coin never attained any circulation, and in 1769, another gold mohur, weighing 190'773 grains and containing 190.086 grains of pure gold, was struck, and declared, like the previous issue, to be the equivalent of sixteen sicca rupees. Even at this valuation gold was overrated, and this beautiful mohur never circulated freely. Four years later, the Company, finding that the sicca rupee of the 19th year of the Emperor Shah Alam was the current coin in Lower Bengal, directed, to prevent further abuse, that the future issues be coined of this fineness and date. In 1793, by Regulation XXXV, the fineness of this rupee is fixed at 175'923 grains and the weight of the

The sicca rupee was the only lineal descendant of the Moghul imperia currency that preserved its traditional purity. The gold mohur of 1769 had also its prototype in the rare Jiljilalee mohur of Akbar, and was intended to be a fellow coin to the silver sicca rupee.

gold mohur is raised to 190.895 grains, whilst the fineness is

reduced to 189'4037 grains.

The attempt, however, to preserve in Bengal intact the Moghul standard was overborne by the tendency to deterior. ation so prevalent elsewhere. Regulation XLV of 1803 had recognised the current Lucknow rupee (containing about 1652 grains of pure silver) and ordered its coinage at Furrackabad. In 1818 the Madras standard was changed to 165 grains of pure silver as has already been mentioned. The same standard was prescribed for the Bombay rupee in 1824, and the Benares. Furrackabad rupee in 1833. The regulation that made the lastnamed change, also fractionally reduced the pure contents of the sicca rupee. Directly the unification of the currency of the North-West Provinces, Bombay and Madras became complete in 1833, the sicca rupee was doomed, and the Act of 1835, which took effect upon the 1st September of that year, in directing the coinage of the present rupee of the weight of 180 grains,* with a remedy of five thousandths of a grain, fixed the fineness at 165 grains of pure silver with a remedy of two thousandths, and the allowance for wear at 2 per cent. Provision was also made by the same Act for the coinage of a gold mohur and its fractional parts of a weight and fineness similar to those of the standard rupee. The charge for seignorage was fixed at 2 per cent., together with an additional melting charge of I per mille upon silver. In 1837 the seignorage at Calcutta upon gold was reduced to I per cent., and the reduction was extended, in 1844, to Madras and Bombay. By the Act of 1835, although the coinage of gold is unrestricted and the gold mohur is spoken of in it as a fifteen-rupee piece, the faculty of legal tender was confined to silver. The last of the subordinate mints closed was the Saugor, on the 2nd September 1835, a month after the order abolishing the Madras mint was confirmed.

For nearly a century-and-a-half the mints of the Indian Government have been open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Any one who chooses can bring it to the mint and cause it to be coined on paying the mint charges of 21 per mille. The rules for receipt have somewhat varied. The proclamation of the 23rd October 1835 stated that mint certificates were payable thirty days after date of bringing the bullion to the mint. In Bombay, prior to 1841, the practice, —apparently unauthorised,—was to issue them payable at thirty

Another reason which influenced the Company in fixing the standard at \(\frac{1}{2}\)th pure metal and \(\frac{1}{12}\)th alloy, was that the bullion imported was largely of dollar fineness, \(\frac{9}{10}\)th pure, and the cost of refining to a high standard was considerable.

days' sight. The Calcutta rules of 1847 declared them payable at twenty days after the assay report, which report was due three days after receipt of the bullion. Under present rules made, in 1882, the tenderer is paid by the Head Commissioner of Paper Currency, immediately upon the assay report, and the mint certificate becomes the property of the

latter and is cashed at the Reserve Treasury by him.

With these preliminary remarks I propose, in the present assay, to record the coinage of gold and silver in India from the commencement of the century until 1835, when the history of our present currency may be said to commence; to make an estimate of the quantity of silver coin then in active circulation; and to calculate the loss suffered by the currency during the same period. At Calcutta the coinage of the gold mohur of 1793 continued till 1818, when its weight was raised to 204710 grains and its fineness reduced to 187.65, the effect of the change being to reduce the intrinsic value of the coin by I per cent. The preference, however, for the purer coin remained so great, and showed itself so clearly in its price, that in 1825, 1826 and 1827, when Government received a large consignment of bullion from Ava and a considerable quantity from Madras (owing to the substitution of the rupee for the pagoda), it was determined to coin it into gold mohurs of the standard of 1793. In 1829 the privilege was extended to merchants, and from September of that year until September of 1835, none but these gold mohurs were minted. It thus came about, in spite of the alteration in the law, that, out of a total coinage valued at Rs. 3.75,31,952, all but a third (speaking exactly Rs. 71,58,085) was of the old standard. Converting these figures into weights, the total coinage may be said to have been 923,976 ounces of fine gold. (The value of the yearly coinage in rupees at the ratio fixed by the law is given in Appendix A.)

For Bombay I have, unfortunately, not been able to obtain complete figures. The coinage from 1802 until 1819 (omitting the years 1816 and 1817 amounted to Rs. 1,98,56,962 (Rs. 15 being legally equivalent to one gold mohur). The details have been given in Appendix A. Judging from these figures and the course of the bullion trade, I am disposed to estimate the coinage from 1800 to 1835 to have been worth three-and-a-half crores of rupees at the ratio fixed by the law. The gold mohur issued in 1800 weighed 179 grains and contained 164.68 grains of gold. In 1830 the gross weight was raised one grain and the fineness to 165 grains. Expressed in ounces the coinage may be estimated to have been about 1,200,792 ounces.

At Madras, prior to 1800, the coinage was carried on by a contractor; in that year the Sub-Treasurer was also appointed to

be mint master: but it was not until 1807 that the mint was properly organised under a separate officer and a committee.

On the 2nd February 1808, a proclamation was issued directing the coinage of a single and double pagoda of 91% touch, containing, severally, 42 and 84 grains of pure gold. In 1818. on the 7th January, another proclamation ordered the discontinuance of the coinage of the pagoda and substituted for it that of a gold rupee, half-rupee and quarter-rupee. From 1820 a third of a rupee was also minted, under orders dated the 15th May. The gold rupee, like the silver rupee, weighed 180 grains and contained 165 grains of pure metal. (The detail of the yearly mintage is given in Appendix A.) Converted into ounces, the total comes to 1,293,629. In addition to this, a few native mints also coined gold, but, with the exception of the coinage of Jeypur, the amount was insignificant. An eighth of the British mintage will be a sufficient estimate. I therefore place the total mintage of gold in India from 1800 to 1835 at 3.845,700 ounces of fine gold.

Except in Madras and Bombay, little of this was in active circulation. At ceremonials the use of gold coins was, and is very general. They are also worn as ornaments and preserved in families as amulets. Moreover, owing to the continued appreciation of gold as compared with silver, they were highly

in request for purposes of hoarding.

Turning to silver, I find that, from 1800 to 1835, the coinage of the Calcutta sicca rupee, which was the currency of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, was Rs. 30,22,01,527-15-4, whilst Calcutta, the coinage of the Lucknow or Furrackabad rupees at Furrackabad, Benares, and Saugor, was no less than Rs. 22 94,59,833-14-7.

The Madras records are fairly complete and show that there was a silver coinage from 1800 to 1835 of Rs. 13,89.74,934, besides which rather less than half a crore was coined in Calcutta for Dacca and Chittagong, two Bengal districts that have

a considerable trade connection with Madras.

The Bombay records are stated to be most imperfect. In 1874 General Ballard, the Mint Master, reported that "there are no returns in the mint of coinage previous to 1832-33, nor has search in the old mint records at the Record Office given the requisite data; possibly the reports by Government to the India Office may contain an annual return of the outturn of the mints of Bombay and Surat. They are, however, hardly worth looking for. The extent of British Territory in Western India was small at the beginning of the century, and the outturn of our mints would only partially represent the coin put into circulation."

A visit, however. to the India Office has furnished me with

further details. In 1814 the Collector of Broach reported that about fifty lakhs of locally-minted coin were circulating in Guzerat, and about one-hundred-and-twenty lakhs of Surat rupees in Surat and adjacent districts. The native coinage at Broach from 1787 to 1809 is stated to have been no less than Rs. 1,54,94,049. The Surat coinage, which was under our control, totalled more than eighty-one-and-a-half lakhs of rupees since the commencement of this century. In addition to operations at these mints and at Bombay, there was coining at Ahmedabad, which must have been partially under British management, for I have seen correspondence in which the Collector claimed a grant for repairing the mint. In a volume of the Bombay Mint Proceedings there is a most valuable statement, dated the 14th of March 1834, giving the description of silver bullion coined at Bombay since 1800. (It has been reproduced together with the details of the Calcutta and Madras coinage in Appendix B.) Omitting the Broach coinage, but including estimates for part of the outturn at Ahmedabad, the issues at Saharanpur until 1805, at Benares until 1804, and at Bareilly until the 24th March 1803, a reliable approximation to the total British coinage from 1800 to 1835 would be seventyseven crores.

To this must be added the issues from the mints of Native States; but unfortunately the materials for this calculation are of the most meagre description.

There was one mint at least in Mysore; one in Madras, one at Pondicherry, Cochin and Pondercotta; in Hyderabad several, until 1847, when all were abolished but one; in Bombay at least sixteen, of which the most important were those at Kutch, Baroda, Porebunder and Cambay; in Nagpur one or more; in the Punjab three or more, until Runjit Sing closed all but those at Lahore and Amritsar; in Bundelkhand three; in Central India more than eleven, of which the principal were those of Holkar and Sindia, the Mahratta Chiefs, and Bhopal; twenty-six in Rajputana, of which the most important were those of Chittore, Jodhpur, Kotah, Oodeypur, and Jeypur; one at Kashmir; one at Pattiala; one at Jhind; one at Delhi; one at Jaloun, another at Srinagar in Jalona; and one at Munipur in Assam.

Besides these, there was coining at Goa for Portuguese India, and a Batavian coinage by the Dutch. Roughly, it may be said, that upwards of 75 mints were working during some part

^{*} The opening of the Agra bullion depôt injured the revenue of these mints by attracting the bullion imported from Ladakh and Muttra. There were three kinds of Sikh rupees which the money-changers again divided into three classes, viz, dirty, rather dirty, and chipped or drilled.

of the period from 1800 to 1835, and that about 57 were work.

ing so late as last year (1890).

With regard to the volume of the native coinage in this period, the records give little information. I find it stated in a report before 1835, that the coinage of Nagpur was about a crore of rupees: this is probably an understatement, for the coinage for ten years, after 1838, was upwards of one-hundred-and-thirty-one lakhs. The coinage at Jodhpur, from 1843 to 1846, was Rs. 32,238, and at the Pali mint, from 1843 to 1847, was Rs. 5,59,157. The coinage at Indore must have been several lakhs of rupees a year.

The mints of Kotah coined about thirty-six lakhs a year. The mint at Srinagar in Bundelkhand coined largely until 1822, the coinage in 1794 being about eighteen lakhs, and that in 1819, about four lakhs. The mint at Jaloun began minting in 1800,

and coined from six to ten lakhs yearly.

In making a rough estimate of the total native coinage, it must be remembered that all these mints were not opened in 1801, and that some of them only coined fitfully, whilst others again were closed before 1835. Taking into account these considerations, the small amounts tendered for recoinage at our mints, and subsequent estimates of the native circulation, I am disposed to think Mr. James Prinsep over-estimated the volume of this coinage, when he states that it was roughly about one-half of our own. A fair estimate would be thirty-three crores, adding to this seventy-seven 77 crores of British mintage, it may, I think, be stated, with some confidence, that the total coinage in India for this period exceeded one-hundred-and-ten crores.

It must not, of course, be supposed that this represents accurately the volume upon which the circulation can be estimated.

Recoinage has been, to a considerable extent, responsible for the total. If an old rupee could reveal its past, it might recite many tales of innumerable journeyings and of the various legends impressed upon it in its passage from mint to mint. There are, fortunately, some materials for arriving at a rough approximation to the amount of the money which has been minted more than once in India. It has been the custom, from at least the commencement of the century, to record separately the silver tendered to the mints by the public and by Government, and the Table annexed shows by whom the silver was The Madras proportion has been calcutendered for coinage. lated from the observed proportion between 1820 and 1833. There is the authority of James Prinsep for the figures for the Furrackabad, Saugor and Benares mints. The others are based on information available for isolated years, and a consideration

of the volume of the bullion imported. They are also borne out by the statistics of the recall of various issues:—

	By Govern- ment.	By Individu-	Total.
Calcutta	10	23.73	33.73
Bombay	6.75	7'14	13.89
Furrackabad Saugor	}	9.43	19.43
Benares Various Mints	2.85	2.60	5'45
Total.	31.10	45'90	77

The net import of bullion by Government for this period may be placed at fourteen crores. Deducting this quantity from the thirty crores odd tendered by Government at the mints, seventeen crores remain, which must be coins paid into the treasuries and thence remitted to the mints. All the silver, however, tendered by individuals was not imported. As the currencies of the various provinces were not uniform, and the standards continued to alter, merchants found it necessary, in order to effect their purchases, to tender coin of one province * for conversion to that of another. Perhaps one-eighth of the silver tendered by individuals was of this description. Adding then five-and-a-half crores to the seventeen already mentioned, twenty-two crores would apparently represent the recoinage of the seventy-seven crores issued since 1800. But part of this twenty-two crores must consist of foreign currencies paid into the treasuries, part must have been of mintage prior to 1800, and part (say a crore) of native mintage. I am, therefore, disposed to place the recoinage of the seventy-seven crores at about eighteen crores.

There are very scanty data for a similar calculation regarding the thirty-three crores supposed to have been coined by the mints of Native States. Though their recoinage is undoubtedly greater than that of our mints, a larger portion of their supplies is obtained from bullion and imported silver than is commonly supposed. It is known that, shortly after 1835, twenty lakks were coined in Aurangabad mainly from dollars,

sycee silver and Persian rupees.+

In 1833-34 and 1834-35 no less than Rs. 43,87,397 of the sicca curren-

cy were tendered by individuals for conversion.

[†] Sir E. V. Stonehouse, writing in 1844, speaks of a remittance to Madras from Tanjore of nearly seven lakhs, of which more than five were Spanish dollars conjectured to have been introduced by merchants trading with Penang and Malacca. Similarly, in Tinnevelly, Spanish dollars and German crowns, probably imported by merchants trading with Arabia and Mecca, were frequently paid in at our treasuries in satisfaction of Government demands.

Major Dixon, Political Agent at Ajmere, writing, I think, in 1848, reports that the mints of Rajputana are principally supplied by bullion and Spanish dollars from Bombay. The Agent at Jodhpur, about the same date, states that the bulk of the coinage, at Pali and Jodhpur, was from sycee silver. The Resident at Indore reports the coinage to be from dollars and Chinese silver, and states that when one hundred tolas of the latter is used, one hundred-and-twenty-seven of Company's rupees are also melted to make up two-hundred-and-twentyseven pieces of the State coinage. The Treasurer at Jeypur reports that the coinage, with the exception of half a lakh of Furrackabad rupees, was not from Company's coins. Punjab mints were supplied by Persian rupees, and bullion from Ladakh and Muttra, and by small quantities of Kashmiri coin. Runjit Sing's mintage, however, was, to a considerable extent, composed of the old debased Sikh currencies and those of Peshawar and Cabul. In 1866, the answers elicited by the Paper Currency Commission from Political Agents confirm my views, that a very considerable proportion of the native coinage is from bar silver, sycee silver and dollars. Taking everything into consideration, eighteen crores would be a fair estimate for the receipts in native mints other than those derived direct from the sea-board. Deducting two crores for the recoinage of the Company's issues and two crores for native issues prior to 1800, I place the recoinage in these mints of the thirty-three crores at fourteen crores. To obtain the total recoinage it is necessary to add the eighteen crores to this fourteen and add in the one crore of native mintage recoined in British mints and the two crores of British mintage recoined in native mints: the result is thirty-five crores. Deducting which from the gross coinage of one hundred-and-ten crores, leaves seventy-five crores as the figure representing the net issues of silver from 1800 to 1835. There are, I think, fairly good data for arriving at the quantity of these rupees in actual circulation in 1835. In the first place, there are contemporary estimates by the brothers Prinsep and others: secondly, the amount of new rupees supplied to replace the old is a fair index to the quantity of the old rupees formerly circulating; and, lastly, there is the result of the recall recorded in the mint receipts. (This last will be found in Appendix C, to which are attached two notes in elucidation of the figures.) Giving due weight to all the above considerations, I am of opinion that about thirty-eight crores of rupees were circulating in 1835, viz., seven crores in Lower Bengal, sixand-a-half in Upper India, five in Madras, two-and-a-half in Hyderabad, two in the Punjab, and fifteen elsewhere. difference of thirty-seven crores between this amount and the net issues has been either melted, or hoarded or exported. To the quantity so disappearing should be added five crores or so on account of issues prior to 1800. In other words the yearly waste due to these causes averaged about one and one-fifth crores.

If an increase of population of at least 30 per cent., a rise in retail prices of say twenty per cent., and a more or less rapid displacement of payments in kind by payments in cash, be weighed against a more rapaid circulation, the growth of instruments of credit, such as native bills of exchange and the introduction of a paper currency, it will, I think, be conceded that my estimate, published in the *Economic Journal*, of a present circulation of one-hundred-and-fifteen crores out of a net coinage since 1835 of more than three-hundred crores, is not merely reasonable, but supported by this present historical

study of the monetary position in 1835.

The introduction of the new coinage and the recall of the old was an operation of great magnitude and attended with considerable difficulty. The salaries of Civil Servants ceased to be expressed in sicca rupees in 1829, but the Army, in 1835, protested against a similar change on the ground of their losing about 2 per cent, in the process, and obtained the privilege of being paid in sicca rupees so long as they were issued from any treasury. The public accounts were kept in the present currency from the 1st May, and, on the 1st December. the Bank of Bengal ceased to issue in payment any but the new rupees. The following year, under Act XIII, the 1st of January 1838 was fixed as the date on which the sicca rupee would cease to be legal tender and become receivable at the mint at a I per cent. charge for recoinage. The Bank of Bengal, however, was allowed the privilege, after the 31st May 1839 of tendering these for coinage by tale. The older sicca and other coins issued prior to 1790 have already been declared receivable as bullion only.

To promote the recall of Madras, Bombay and Furrackabad rupees, it was notified in 1838, that they would be received at the mint without charge for recoinage, if of full weight. Owing, however, to the obscure wording of Act XIII of 1862 and Act XXIII of 1870, it was felt to be doubtful when these rupees ceased to be legal tender, and the question was set at rest by a notification of the 7th December 1877, which called in all the rupees coined before 1835 with effect from the 1st June 1878. Practically speaking, as the rate of wearage allowed by the law was low, these rupees could hardly have

remained legal tender after 1850.

In Appendix D a memorandum has been drawn up, in which I have given an elaborate calculation of the abrasion suffered by the rupee, and also a minute history of the policy followed by Government with regard to light or shroff marked coin.

Upon the introduction of the present currency, bankers and shroffs made difficulties in receiving it, and sought to prolong the period of transition, which, by the fluctuation in relative values, was a source of profit to them; the silk dealers in Murshidabad, and the employes of the Salt Department in Eastern Bengal, objected to receive the new rupee, which was also rejected by the primitive hill tribes, on the ground that the device was that of a dead man's head. There is, therefore, little doubt that the policy of receiving the sicca rupee at its intrinsic par till 1838, was a wise one, and resulted in a successful withdrawal of the major portion of that coin which was circulating. But the sicca, and, to a lesser extent, the Furrackabad rupee has always been at a premium for melting and hoarding purposes, and a consideration of these facts suggests two important inferences: (a) that a larger body of the sicca currency was in existence after 1838 than an examination of the mint receipts since that year could indicate; and (b) that, similarly, the recoinage of Furrackabad rupees after 1835, until, say, 1850 (when they must have worn light), is an equally imperfect index to the quantities of this currency hoarded and circulating side by side with the new rupees. Stress is laid upon these arguments, because they have elsewhere been considered in estimating the circulation, and would have to be considered if calculations were made regarding the effect of hoarding and melting on the body of the new currency. In Bengal, the sicca was displaced by the present rupee to the extent of five-anda-quarter crores in September 1837, and the land revenue of that season was paid entirely in the new rupees. In Madras, the receipts of the local rupees in the public treasuries dropped from one-hundred-and-fifteen lakhs in 1839 to eight lakhs in 1850, although the Accountant-General in 1844 gives a list of ninety-two coins circulating to a greater or less extent in that presidency.

The currency in Baroda, Rajputana, Central India and Hyderabad was of native mintage, and has remained so till this day. At Ahmedabad, in Bombay, the native currency for years was preferred for cotton purchases, and, so late as 1850, the Government reported that the Company's coin was not current in Guzerat. A Political Agent in Upper Scinde, writing in 1839, enumerates nineteen coins as circulating, amongst which are Pondicherry rupees, German crowns, Colombo and Spanish dollars. Hyderabad and Nagpur rupees for many years passed into the Eastern districts of Madras to pay for salt. In 1848, the Collector of Agra reports that Furrackabad rupees are kept in large amounts by Delhi bankers against their bill and remittance business, whilst a Secretary to Government writes that fifty lakhs will be required to replace these rupees, still circulating.

Enough has been quoted to show that the substitution of the new rupee for the former currency of British India was not so rapidly effected as the authorities supposed at the time.

In conclusion, to sum up the result of my enquiries, I am disposed to place the gold coinage from 1800 to 1835 at 3,845,700 ounces of fine gold, the gross silver coinage at 110 crores of rupees, the nett coinage at seventy-five crores, and the loss suffered by the silver currency during the same period from export, hoarding, and the arts, at forty-two crores.

F. C. HARRISON.

APPENDIX A.
COINAGE OF GOLD.

BEI	BENGAL.				MADRAS.				E	BOMBAY.
	Value of the Gold Coinage			These figures g	These figures give the Gold Coinage by Tale.	oinage by Tal	ú			Value of the
YEAR.		PAGODAS.	DAS.			Gold Rupres.	ý		Увья.	present rupees, 15 of which were equivalent under the law to one
	Mohur.	Double.	Single.	Single.	Half.	Third.	Quarter.	Total.		Gold Mohur.
1801-2	83,140			:	:	:			1800	Unascertained.
1802 3	1,27,848	_		:	::	:	:		1801	Ditt 1
1803 4	89,497	2.48	1.182	:	:	:	::		1802	2.27,643
1804-5	1.26,940	2	Coefe	:::		:	:		1803	7.25.546
9-50	1,30,454			:	:	:::	::		1804	20.83.373
2-90	91,773			:	:	:	:::		1805	2.65.656
1807-8	2,31.752	16,500	15,000	:	:	:	::		1806	7,06,660
1808-9	50,801	94,982	2,70,669	::	:	:::	:		1807	7.38,560
1809-10	31,885	43,000	9,24,000	:	:	::	:		1808	1.90.008
1810-11	10,29,656	91,500	20,000	•	::	:::			1809	2.20,387
1811-12	18,54,704	1,38.500	31,000	::	:	::	:		1810	15.55.800
1812-13	12.56,319	2,11,430	16,140	:	::	:	:		1811	34.12.160
1813-14	10,91,854	1,72,500	15.000	::	:::	:	:		1812	17,03,058
1814-15	15,01,965	1,88,000	23,000	:		:	::		1813	20.58.810
15-16	9.35,987	1,07,500	17,000	:	:::	:	::		1814	19.50.475
16-17	13,63,201		:::		::	::	:		1815	0.40.000
17-18	15,67,280	:::	••••	59,250	7,500	:	2,000		1816	Unascertained.
18 19	2.63.105			2,57,750	36,500		32,000		8817	Ditto.

1,98 56,962		Sign Try	93,834	21,79,573	2,20,193	11,77,050	13,81,809	3,862,992	3,44.66,303
-10 -40									
			11						
			E		1				
:	:		:	29,700	:	41,920	:	:	:
•	:		:	2,13,120	:	1,20,040		:	20,512
*****	:		:	3,87,095	::	1,35,000	:	:	70,805
:::	:		:	1,920	:	18,320		:	23,71,024
	:		:		•	:		:	39,392
•	:		:	66,162	:	:	:	:::	17,58,896
	:		:	98,145	:			:	,24,032
: ::	:		:::	87,885	:	:	:	:::	5,01,296
:	:		:::	84.577	:	:	:		4.79,616
:	:		::	2,31,810	:	:	:	:::	26,832
:	:		:	3,02,332	•	:	•••••	:	62,030
:	:		:	::	:	•	•	:::	72,948
•	:	*	::	79,358	:	1,23,676	:	:::	26,509
•	:		::	4,771	33,800	20,205	:	:	79,211
•	:::		::	1,40,706		1,40,083	:	:	20,332
10,70,328	6181		192	4,32,522	:	1,29,057	:	:	8,26,040
10,07,581	1818		59,758	19,410	1,42,333	1,30,549	::	::	37,671

2,481,183 represents the coinage at Madras in single pagodas from the 1st May 1800 to the 3oth April 1807. Part of this total may consist of double pagodas and fractional coins.

APPENDIX B.

COINAGE OF SICCA RUPEES.

The coinage of these rupees from the year 1801 to 1835 is taken from Prinsep's Tables and the Mint Report for 1834-35. From 1793 to 1818 this rupee was obliquely milled, of a weight of 179 666 grains, and legal tender until it lost 6 annas per cent. of its weight. In 1818 the weight was raised to 191'916 grains, the milling was changed from oblique to straight and the fine ness fixed at 175'923. It was legal tender until it lost I per of its weight. In 1833, by Regulation VII, the fineness was altered to 176 grains: the milling was discontinued and a dotted rim was engraved on its face:—

		Rs.	a.	p.			Rs	•	α .	p.
1801-2		30,73,226	12	0	18:8-19		1,26.26,			8
1802-3	.,	46,64,736	8	0	1819-29		2,53,16,			II
1803-4		77,41,674	4	0	1820-21	***	1,08,36	215	6	II
804-5		1,00,78 060	12	0	1821-22	***	73,42,	216	14	7
805-6		71.20.322	12	0	1822-23		63,66,	536	10	7
806-7		1.63,14,198	12	0	1823-24		16,08,0	140	15	2
807-8		1,45,85,126	0	0	1824-25		62,60,	358	2	9
808-9		1,11,30 383	4	0	1825-26	••	93,94	117	9	5
1809-10		82,76,886	0	0	1826-27		80.97,		0	0
1810-11		1,47,08 840	14	3	1827-28		57.51,1		0	0
811-12		83.83.885	12	1	18.8-29		56, 16,	000	0	0
812-13		76 63,893	10	0	1829-30		51,24.	101	8	0
813-14		28,31.166	II 1	I	1830-31	••	13,83,	56	0	0
8:4-15		71,29,817		1	1831-32	/	16.27,4		12	0
815-16		1,37,89.975	0 1	11	1832-33		45.05,2		0	0
816-17		2,21,48,114	5	6	1833-34		42,30,	78	4	0
817-18		55,15,411		8	1834-35		20,74,	72	0	0
					Total		28,33,13,9	122	7	5

Note.—Of this total, Rs. 16,51,50,714-13-5 are old standard obliquely milled rupees. Prinsep makes the total Rs. 40,000 less; apparently an error in addition.

Total 28,33,13,932-7-5 siccas=Rs, 30,22,01,527-15.-4.

COINAGE OF FURRACKABAD RUPEES.

Under this denomination I have included the old Farrucka-bad rupee—weight 173 grains, milling oblique, fineness 165.215, allowance for wear 6 annas per cent.; the Benares rupee coined up to 1812—exact weight and fineness unknown, but probably identical with its subsequent issue, milling oblique; the new Farruckabad, weight 180.234 grains, milling upright, fineness 165.215, wearage allowance I per cent. The Benares-Farruckabad, same as last, after 1819; the Saugor rupee, of which the fineness was 165 and weight 180 grains, and the Benares rupee of 1812-1819, of which the fineness was 168.875, the milling oblique and the weight 175 grains. The Calcutta issues after 1833 had a plain edge or rim.

Value of coinage in present rupees.

Year.	Farruckabad.	Benares.	Saugor.	Celcutta.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs a. p.	• Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p
801.3		1	::::	•••
802-3		1		****
503-4	-6 .0 2			****
324-5	1 2 2 2 2 2 2	48,64,949 8 0	****	
805-6	42,11,109 3	51,21,241 0 0		••••
8 16 7		38,22 213 4 6	**	••••
307-8		4,15,312 8 0		••••
8-9	00141133	22,10 843 0 0	****	••••
3)9-10	491301001	22,67,160 7 5		••••
Bro-II	31,13,575 4 4	23,37,714 9 4	****	•,••
(I-12 ··	33,51,506 10 1	21,02,105 0 9	****	••••
12-13		36,31,236 7 9	••••	•• ••
13 14		49,73,406 O I	****	
14-15	2/100/3/			•• •
15-16	** 4013/	20	••••	** **
10-17	30,00 / 4	85,59,199 14 0	••••	••••
17-18	90,66 595 6 6	47.76,784 13 1	****	** **
18-19	49,57,191 9 2	46,79,247 11 0		40.13.481 2 1
19-20	40,52.158 13 0	39 55,674 11 0	****	10,29,950 6
20-2I ··	54,77,076 8 7	1,18,36,643 10 7		*****
21-22	54,30,124 6 11	84 36.317 3 6	••••	*****
22-23	9.74,519 8 4	48,70,465 4 7	••••	••••
23-24	10,24.415 15 6	32,07,858 12 1	••••	2,60,562 15 4,21,993 B
4.25		35,36,720 7 9	.:	4,21,993 8
25-26		51,87,277 7 7	1,17,984 5 0	3,24.376 5
6-27		75,53.102 1 3	4,80 624 9 1	****
7-28		41,56,991 15 9	7,99,738 12 2	9,18,048 15
8 29	****	19,70,908 3 0	4,52,594 7 6	84,240 2 1
9 30		16,12,904 6 8	6.63,989 10 9	32,71,093 3
c-31			9,70,782 12 6	24,30,140 7
1-32			8,39,061 0 9	28 50,236 2
2-33		••••	10,74,506 14 9	31,85,202 15
3-34			****	40,52,367 0
4-35 ••				1,00,77,837 0
		-		
OTAL	••		••••	Sicca 3,29,19,500 6
is	7,74,66,519 3 11	11,14.79,898 6 6	53,99,282 8 6	Rs. 3,51,14,133 11 8

Rs, a. p.
7,74,66,519 3 11
11,14,79,898 6 6
53,99,282 8 6
3,51,14,133 11 8

Grand Total •• 22,94,59,833 14 7

The details are taken from Prinsep's Tables with the addition of the coinage for 1833.34 and 1834-35 from the Mint Reports. In the Tables, however, the Saugor coinage is given as Rs. 53,99,282-6-6, and at foot as Rs. 53,27,503, when expressed in siccas. I have taken the details as correct, and treated the sicca total as a blunder or misprint.

BOMBAY COINAGE.

On the 27th January 1801 the Board of Direction fixed the weight of the Bombay rupee at 179 grains, and fineness at 164.74. It was found convenient, however, to coin it of a fineness of 164.68. A proclamation, dated the 6th October 1824, altered the weight to 180 grains and the fineness to 165.

Year	. !	From Sycee Silver.	From Span- ish dollars.	From German and French crowns.	From rupees of various currencies.	Coined in Calcutta value in siccas.
1800-1	•••		4.47,000			
1801-2			9,3,000	****		•• ••
1802-3		*****	****		****	**
1803-4		2,500	2,,000	** **		** **
1804-5		****	*****			*****
1805-6		50,000	88,000	** **	****	
1806-7		7,61,000	1,5.23,000	3,800	13,50,000	
1807-8		2 88,000	3 80,000	2,800	****	****
1808-9		5,47,000	1,12,000	** **	1,000	****
1809-10	**	5,58,000	69,000	****		** **
1810-11	••	1,45,000	****	4	7,65,000	18,73.024 1 11
#811-12		1,09,000	****		31,000	••••
1812-13		5,000	******	*****		1.87,156 0 0
1813-14		2,87,000	• • • •	*****	6,000	••••
1814-15	••	*** * *	****	****	*****	****
18 5-16		1,79,000	1,04,000	4,000	2,17,000	****
1816-17		1,63,000	24,000	****	1.38,000	****
1817-18		**	1,07,000		1,00,000	*****
1818-19		2,69,000	2,35.000		7,34,000	
1819-20		1,24,000	7,19,000	60,300	2,29,000	••••
1820-21		1,16,000			2,29,000	••••
1821-22		60,000			18,65,000	
1822-23		57,000	77,000		3,12,000	4 85.854 13 I
1823-24		15,00,000	85,000		1,67,000	23.40,943 10 9
1824-25	***	1,04,000			1, 11,800	54,667 11 9
1825-26		7,99,500	11,01,000	2,500	1,47,000	••••
1826-27		3,22,000	8.85.700		11,200	****
1828-29		1,01 909	12,00,00		14.100	*****
1829-30	***	1,15,000				••••
1830-31		3.50,co0	9,47,000		****	****
1831-32					****	****
1832-33	***	2,73,600	*****	1,70,909	14.54.400	****
1833-34		39,69,800	88,480	1,40,000	1,50,200	••••
Grand Total		1,02,79,300	82,88,480	4,09,500	80,477,00*	49,41,646 5 6 value in present rupees 52,71,089 6 11

To this should be added the coinage of 1834-1835, which amounted to Rs. 46,41,857. The summation of all these details comes to Rs. 3,6937,926-6-11. The coinage at Surat from 1800 to 1813 was eight-one lakhs and sixty-six thousands of rupees, of which about 38½ lakhs were tendered by the Company and forty-three lakhs by merchants. As the mint was not closed until the 1st November 1815, the outturn may be estimated in round figures at ninety lakhs of rupees.

The coinage by the English may, therefore, be said to have exceeded four-and-a-half crores, excluding all issues from mints at Ahmedabad and Broach.

^{*} In the old statement from which I have copied these details, the total of the first column is given as ten lakhs greater, and the total of the fourth column, twelve lakhs less than the correct summation of the details.

The rupees issued from 1800 to 18 present standard of 165 grains. These

S

	Y	EAR.		Double Rupees.	
1st May	1800 to	30th April	1807		
1807-8 to	19th J	ine 1812	•••	1,65,712	
1812-13	•••	•••	•••	•••	
1813-14	•••	•••	•••	***	
1814-15	• •	•••		•••	
1815-16	•••	•••		•••	
1816 17	•••	•••	•••	•••	
1817-18	***	141	•••	•••	
1818 19	•••	•••	•••	•••	
1819-20	•••	•••		•••	
1820-21		•••		•••	
April 182	I	***	•••	•••	
1821-22	•••	•••	•••	•••	
1822 23	***	•••	•••	•••	
1823-24	•••	•••	•••		
824-25	•••	•••		•••	
1825-26	•••	•••	•••	***	
826-27	•••	•••		•••	
827-28	•••	•••	•••		
828-29	•			•••	
829-30	***	•••	•••		
830-31	•••	•••			
831-32	•••	•••			-
832-33		•••	}	1	
833-34	•••				
834 35	•••	•••	•••		4
835 36	•••	•••			1
+	Grand	Total			

EARLY ANNALS OF THE INDIAN MINTS.

Madras Coinage.

ees issued from 1800 to 1812 were of a fineness of 166'4775 grains. In 1812 the fard of 165 grains. These rupees when minted at Calcutta bore the symbol of a rose on

EAR.		Double Rupees.	Single Rupees.	Half Rupees.	Quarter Rupees.	½th Rupees.	Four Annas.	Two Annas.	Pagodas.
30th April	1807		3,49,99,194						
ne 1812		1,65.712	21,44,306	1,08,180	18,216	20,046	44,225	64,558	25,00,401
•••		•••	18,63,020	7,96,020	2,96,020	56,019		•••	
7		•••	19.42,001	7,36,001	1,40,001	16,001		***	
/		***	14,86,000	5,94,000	1,60,000	24,000		•••	
		***	10,28,000	3,78,000	88,000	8,000			
	•••	***	28,49,000	6,80,000	88,000			***	
***	***	•••	17.71,000	2,08,000	12,000			•••	•••
	***	•••	35,30,000	3,76,000	64,000	1,12,000		•••	•••
•••		***	51,69,000	6,10,000	1,88,000	96,000		•••	
***	***	***	44,56,000	6,22.000	3,91,000	8,06,000		***	
***	•••	***	3,84,000	66,000	16,000			•••	
		***	54.28,480	10,64,019	1,76,409	502		•••	
		***	71,27,613	13,89,651	2,92,305	1,93,186		•••	
		***	69,76,000	11.94,000	1,96,000	6,24,000		***	
		***	60,97,581	12,63,868	3,49,219	2,07,347		•••	
***	•••	***	22,22,804	6,35.881	7,96,508	14,22,683		***	***
***		•••	26,00,648	4,75,142	7,60,813	30,40,110			
		•••	21,54,086	4,02,800	11,92,016	16,40,299		•••	
		•••	19,97,861	4,14.215	1,02,503	2,53,872		***	
	•••		13,97,900	2,64,010	73,837	10.52,088		***	
			33,11,285	3,48,810	1,36,712	4,05,568	•••	•••	
***		•••			•••	16,000	•••	•••	
	{	***	19,97,000	3,96,000	1,36,000	2,16,000		***	
		***	38,78,000	7,18,000	1,04,000	1,36,000		•••	
	•••		32,10,000	3,60,000	2,12,000	3,60,000	•••	•••	
	•••	•••	11,78,000	74,000	40,000	2,08,000			
l'otal								•••	•••

Note.—The Coinage from 1800—1812 has been converted at the rate of 100 Rs.

Do. 1812—1818 " " 100 Rs.

Pagodas have been converted at the rate of 100 half Pagodas

Fanams " 100 five Fanams

The Fanam coinage from 1800 to 1807 is stated to have been worth Rs. 9

the fineness was raised to 166.5 grains, and in 1818 reduced to the se on the obverse and had an upright milling.

odas.	Pagodas.	5 Fanams.	Double Fanams.	Single Fanams.	Single Annas.	Value in Co.'s Rupees.
			1,20,45,296			3,62,85,168.507
401	88,64,483	49,42,117	75,55,437	19,31,764	•••	1,80,77,217.467
1	00,04,403				•••	23,63,326.116
					•••	23,68,335.239
		,				18,42,598.34
			•••			12,51,271.6
		'				32,40,187'99
						18,95,071.02
		1	•••			37,48,000
						55,33,000
		•••			32,000	49,67,500
		•••			96,000	4,27,000
		•••	•••		9,69,088	60,65,2225
		•••	•••		2,37,869	79,34,529.75
			•••		5,12,000	77,32,000
		•••	•••		68,291	68,47,006.312
					10,43,876	29,82,949.125
			•••		15,78,298	35,07,079.625
			•••		13,20,422	29,41,053'75
			•••		95,302	22,68,284.625
			•••		4.46,096	17,07,756.25
1		•••	***		7,08,992	36,14,876
- 1		•••	•••	•••	96,000	8,000
1		•••	•••		2.40,000	22,71,000
- 1			•••	•••	5,04,000	43,11,500
	•••		•••		5,28,000	35,21,000
	•••		•••		2,08,000	12,64,000
						13,89,74,934'216

Rs. = 100.895 Government rupees.

Rs. = 100 099 " "

= 176 567 " "

= 39 008 " "

Rs. 9,64,103 9-0, and I have converted this figure at the rate first given.

YEAR.		NEW STAND RUPE		OLD STANI	DARD SICCA		D FARUKHABAD	OLD STANDA BAD R	RD FARUKH
i bon.		Tale	Value.	Tale.	Value.	Tale.	Value.	Tale.	Value.
5-36									
6-37	. 1								T 17
7-38	. 1	******	*****	******		******			******
8-39)					0		
9-40		25,65,095	27,07,803	11,44,220	12.06,726	5,55,289	5,48,417	1,42,581	1,41,12
0 41	.	21.81,823		11,16,045	11,77,432	4,66,352	4 60,024	1,09,811	1,09 41
1-42		15,51,091	16,37.600	7,00,975	7,39.720	6,46,230	6,37,894	1,23,812	1,22.52
-43		8,92,822	9 42,069	4,11,860	4,34,389	3,75,306	3,70,532 9,58,868	54,469 1,62,685	54 09
44		11,95 321	12.62,794	6,65,668	7,02,259	9,68,841	20,58,087	1,45,474	1,61,97
5		13,28,519	14.01,278	7,90,786	8,33,711	20,75 141	28,18,357	1,90,268	1,89,98
5		5,16,470	5,44,650	2,74,461	2,89,514	28,43,403	12,41,341	18,089	18.07
7 8	٠.	2,52,204	2.66,004	55,050	58,047 84,240	11,91,403	88,83,891	38,328	38,19
		2,55,853	2,70,257	79,659		26,74.607	26,51,394	1,68,328	1,67,46
9		3,76,660	3,96,080	1,20,192	1,27,049	15,67.847	15,55,756	5,486	5,45
		6,38,564	6.72,796	2,05,819 1,16,990	2,17, 131 1,23,496	23.03,657	22,84.582	39,799	40,14
2		3,26,839	3,43,734	49,219	52,033	14,63,838	14,52,209	12,741	12,83
3		1,42,191	1.50.055	47 689	50,447	15,85,434	15.82,980	55,165	55,40
		1,16,761	1,23,050 1,55.49 3	23,778	25,077	12,43,143	12,32,514	18,577	18,93
4		1,49,186	1,02,991	33.503	35,524	34,39,275	34,20,913	47.428	47,34
,	.	97,5 0 7 38,895	40,896	6,017	6,357	20.27,236	20,10,498	10,062	10,03
		15,131	15,998	1,311	1,389	32,82,028	32,63,369	9,929	9,88
3		53,624	56,577	2,328	2,473	2,20,791	2,18,615	I	
		1,22,162	1,28,909	253	267	4.40,768	4,37,260	3,392	3,38
		22,729	24,016	112	118	1,27.241	1,25.584		
		4,979	5,273	147	155	8.82,639	8,75,026	2	
		9,812	10 366	I	I	31,72,531	31,44,647	3,93,675	3,90,94
		34,299	36,196	4	4	7,56,254	7.49,341	3,117	3,02
	.	16,711	17,683	605	641	6,14,096	6,09,237	401	. 38
		10,136	10.680	303	320	4,92,106	4,88,810	13	I
		2,883	3,051	153	162	8,35,245	8,28,068	22	2
		25,994	28,553	*****		4,59.036	4,56,262	165	16
		1,05,799	1,12,256	186	197	1,77,053	1.75,730	*****	
)		1,150	1,210	•••••	******	3,42,546	3.40,135	*****	
		•••••	*** ***	******	******	******			37
		*****	*****	*****		•••	******		
3		*****	*****	*** ***	*****		*****		
		*****	*** ***	***	*****	******			
			*****	******		•••••	*****	•••••	•••••
			******		******			*****	
		*****	•••••						
						*****	******		
3				•••••				•••••	
,				•••	••• •		••••	•••••	
		•••••	*****	** ***		•••••			******
1 2		•••••	*** **	•••••		•••			******
2		******	*****	•••••		*****			••••
				******	•••				*** ***
				******	*****				•••
		******	***		**.**	*****	*****		******
3		*****	*** ***	******	*** .**	******	•••••	*** **	******
		*****		•••••	•••	******	*****	••••	
			******	******	*****	•••••	•••••	******	
6			*****	- ***	******		•••••	*****	
1				•••••					
	1	1 20 52 210	1,14,68,318	58.47.224	61.68.889	3,91,28,026	3,88,80,341	17.53,820	17.46.00

a. 8½ lakhs probably old Arcot Rupees. | b. From 1844 to 1847 at least 7 lakhs of Babashahye. and 2½ lakhs of Nan 23 lakhs from Nagpur. | b. Unascertainable being burnt rupees. | i. 3½ lakhs of Narain rupees from 2 x, Tale unknown, calculated on the average of other receipts.

EARLY ANNALS OF THE INDIAN MINTS.

APPENDIX C.

Receipts on account of Government in the Calcutta Mint.

Rup	BURMAH RUPBES.	OR COMPANY'S PERS.		BOMBAY PRES.	SURAT OR RU	OR ARCOT	MADRAS RUP	UKHA-
Tale.	Value.	Value	Tale.	Value.	Ta'e.	Value.	Taie.	ue.
			•••	Note B.	details see	For		
12,39,3		2,001	2,011	2,02,255	2,02,535	28,61,319	28,71,049	,122
3,22,3	•••	2,774	2,780	2,10,615	2,10,938	10.90,620	10,94,532	414
5,19.3	***	5,556	5,573	13,873	13,905	48,69.900	48,89, c 68	.527
24,2	***	827	858			1,55,730	1,56.472	091
36,8	***	3,710	3,736	8,019	8,043	7,97,791	8,01.454	973
21,76,2	***	3,759	3,781	34,062	34 197	25 72,883	25,85,437	273
8,86,2	•••	3,743	3,765	4,064	4,080	20,00,956	20,09,939	981
9,01,8	•••	467	467		•••••	405	407	072
18,75,1	•••	6,244	6,266	2,989	3,002	1,856	1.865	196
8,01,2	•••	1,984	1,991	506	508	2,751	2.762	463
3.16,3	•••	101	102		850	391	394	451
1,46.8		1,153	1,161	52	853	. 470	472	146
4,69,3		479	501			*****	•••••	837
13,33,6	•••	73,578	82,011			•••••	•••••	408
8,96,9		4,770	4,983				147	930 343
28,47,3		1,040	1,078			*****	•••••	038
2,91,3		5,169	5,255			******	******	881
58,1	•••	1,93,704	h			.,,	*****	I
13,2		275	295					388
6,70	•••	3,903	4,294					.
2,54,2		6,337	6,747				*****	2
2,58.7	•••	12,838	13,986 6,832				29: ***	949
54,59		6,147	6,832			•••••		020
53,93	•••	5,658	6,321				,,	387
5,71,00		33.93 160	34,24,457		•••••	•••••		12
4,86,90	•••	4,44.994	4,43,081		•••••	•••••	•••	21
42,9 5,6		11,656	12,253		******	******		164
41,9	•••	9,238 8,596	10,195				44.55	
1,4		9,735	10,664		*****	•••••	*****	.
-,-		15,003	16,017	******		6 400	•••••	
		28,993	30,082	2,960	Contract of the second	6,409		
		28,527	29,761	2,599		8,702 12,831		• 1
		82,184	85,251	2,399		12,031		.
		1,14,287	-3/-3	!		5,194		
		84,825	1	916		1,662		:
69		62,950		164		4,732		:
5,4	••	78,837		35,276		81,217		
3,20,05,469	•••	2 03,246		35,276 8,110		48,831	0	.
,20		3.42,493		•••	30	11.885	9,	
4	•••	11,95.978	3,57,28,402	95	51,303	1,042	15,32,640	.
"		44,16,562	8,4		7.		15,	.
	***	48,98,551 38,98,321	5,	69	4	2,27,989	*	.
-1	***	21,80,003	3,	580		1,85,845		
4	•••	42,98.993	5			2,492		
	2 66,450	4,08,785	~		and the same of th	984		
	17,86,768	45.04,271	-			3.384 1,356)	
	22,74,722	49,21,609				1,350		.
	23,68,266	29,95.265				1,98,604		.
	19,13,622	7.65,715				98,832		
5,45.95,5	86,09,828	3.97,49,009	3,99,65,437	5,27,683	5,28,364	1,52,57,063	1.59,46,491	990

BURMAH RUPBES.	RUPERS	OF SORTS.	Bullion.	SICCA RUPERS.		RACKBAD RES.	FULL AND SHORT WRIGHT FURR-ACKBAD RUPERS.	GRAND TOTAL.
Value.	Tale.	Value.	Value.	Value.	Tale.	Value.	Value.	Value.
								1,36,84 950
							•••	1,73,20,564
***	***		•••	4				87,71,828
		060			64,608	62,336		75,09.439
	12,39,357	a 12,86,138	•••	***	04,000	02,330		33,61,292
***	3,22,390	3,10 4 1 3 4,17,492	•••	•••		•••		84,44 562
	5,19.318 24,233	16,763	•••	•••	776	752	•••	19,75.153
***	36,816	25,713					•••	39,21,127
	21,76,215	6 21,99,822	***			•••	• •••	92,48 905
	8,86,281	11,46.744				•••	•••	69,98,009
	56,55,044	52,41,562	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	68,25,898
	9.01,814	11,46.801		. • •	•••	•••	•••	34,34.474
	18,75,182	c 18.92,289	•••	•••	***	••	•••	52.39,516
***	8,01,289	9,28,821	•••	***	***	***	•••	33,80,447
***	3 16,346	5,25,804	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	33,18,299
•••	1,46.824	2.78,054		•••	•••	•••	•••	19,45,341
•••	4,69,367	d 9,44,923	***		•••	•••	•••	27,57,287 33,50,763
•••	13,33,601	e 15.45,171	***	•••	•••	•••		43,73,746
•••	8,96,926	f 7,62.205		•••		•••		44,85,381
1	28,47,333	g 24,16,552 3.88,276	66,85,024			•••		1,03,69,106
-0.00	2,91,344 58,169	57,185	81,34,911	•••				86,63,466
	13,259	16,429	01,34,911	***		•••		5.86,528
***	6,703	6,737	3,95,42,696	***		•••		3,97,03,054
***	2,54,233	2,12.835		•••		***	***	10,99,628
	2,58.723	2,52,025	72,67,026	•••				1,10,77,852
	54,592	58,776	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	8,53,484
***	53,932	50,331		***		•••	•••	6,83,937
	5,71,994	i 3,79,312		•••	•••	•••	***	42,72,294
	4,86,907	3,45,056	•••	•••		•••	•••	16,21,352
***	42,914	48,204	•••	***	***	•	•••	5.44,839
***	5,628	3,794	***	••		•••	•••	3,01,215 4,08,720
***	41,939	58,779	i 1 64 520	•••	***	•••	3,15,044	4,90,549
	1,423	3,809	<i>j</i> 1,64,530 70,138	882		•••	1,78,845	2,75.535
		19.861		1,632			72,592	1,34,741
***	4	13,822	1,13,839	340		•••	2,16,837	3,88,795
***		5,990				•••	2,01,124	2,89,298
		7,300	242	25		•••	3,00,452	4,27,500
		15,920	37,573	158	•••	•••	2,12,472	3,53,526
	69	295	19,567	17		•••	1,09,520	1,97,245
	7	3,59.267	5,250	•••	•••	•••	1,11,979	6,71,832
***	3,20,05,169	2,144	892	•••	***	***	1,10,860	3,74,083
	20	2,08 486	234	•••	•••	•••	90,964	6,54,062
)		13,472	1,401	•••	•••	•••	5,442	12,17,430
	**	16	2,104	•••	***	•••	1,926	44,20,608 53,37,173
		2,07,916	2,648 5,801	•••	•••	•••	•••	40,89,987
		20	k 55,670	•••	•••	•••	•••	22,38,186
		190	1,998	•••			•••	43,02,165
2 66,450		40	4,692	•••	•••			683,351
17,86,768		1 3,18,38,110	5,661					3,81,36,166
22,74,722		. 3, . 0, 30,	1.225				****	71,97,556
23,68,266			3,140		•••		6	55.65,281
19.13,622		m 7,48,395			•••		39-393	35.65,957
86,09,828	5.45.05.565	5,64,09,320	6.21.16.285	3,059	65,384	63,088	19,67,457	29,02,62,609

d. 84 lakhs from Akyab. | e. 54 lakhs from Akyab. | f. 64 lakhs from Nagpur.

L. All but 327 are rupees from the Gwalior Durbar. | m. Of which 64 lakhs are Nanakshahi, and 14 are Ulwar rupees.

Spaniel: Dollars.

Notes to Appendix C.

Note A.—The receipts on account of Government in the Calcutta Mint are shown above to total Rs. 29,02,62,609. Deducting bullion (principally remittances on account of the mutiny) of the value of Rs. 6,21,16,168, recoinage of Upper Burma Rs. 86,09,828, and recoinage of the present currency amounting to Rs. 3,97,49.080, there is left nearly eighteen crores. This total includes Rs. 5,64,09,320, the value of rupees and coins of sorts. Some of these must be coin (like the Upper Burma rupees) not included in my estimate of the coinage; some must be foreign coin (e.g., in Madras dollars, crowns and other coins were received at Government treasuries up to 1846); and some native currency coined since 1835. Rejecting about three crores on these grounds, it may, with some confidence, be asserted that a tale of fifteen crores represents the recoinage at Calcutta of the issues between 1800 and 1835.

The Madras receipts on account of Government were upwards of four-hundred-and-seventeen lakhs. The value of old rupees recoined according to the Finance and Revenue Accounts is two-hundred-and-ninety-six lakhs; adding to this a sum to represent the recoinage of native currencies (presumably excluded as in the case of the Calcutta Mint statistics given in the Finance and Revenue Accounts), I raise this figure to three-and-a-quarter crores. In this connection I attach a statement showing the nature of some receipts on account of Government in the Madras Mint from the year 1841 to 1846. It contains the only details I have been able to obtain.

YEAR.	* Rupees of sorts including 23.339-2 Ava medals.	Sliver Chakrams.	Bombay and Surat Rupees.	New and Old Sicca Rupees	New Solakee Rupees.
Joil	d los tos.	than sa a	Alive Jakit	out twent	is H .(QT
1811-42	1 58,496 5	4,61,322 6	17,212 12	He Harris	1103.089111
1842-43	1,31,812 4	••	1,71,834 12	in hanna	9,547 18
1843-44	1,43,819 4	911 N 200	5,38,723 12	29,458 4	sveri of bi
1844-45	13,778 6	dred-and-	3,30,38, 8 4,13,287 3	oda. need	6061 18 Q
1845-46	Oil W. Co. W.	e) fulso ari	3,37,837 15	mode in	E-1881 mo
TAL .	4,47,906 3	4,61,322 6	18, 3,276 14	29,458 4	15,609 4

Rupees of sorts include Sholapur, Chillavanum, Hyderabad, Narainpett, Nagpore, Govindo Ma'kee, Vencacut, Gurnai and new Double Sadras fupees, VOL. XCV.

Year. (contd.)	Spanish Dollars.	German Crowns.	Old Madras Rupees.	Old Silver Rupees.	TOTAL.
1841-42					6,31,031 7
1842-43	18, 85 15		••		3,31.283 11
:813-44	2,11,980 12	30,704 14	19,91,194 14	23,863 1	29,69,044 13
1844-45	1,25,004 15	9,852 0	4,96,177 2		19,77,088 0
1845-46	1,70,361 4	6,117 0	19,88,997 11		25,03,313 14
OTAL	5,95,277 6	60,811 8	49.74,233 15	23,863 1	84,11,758 13

The Bombay mint receipts on account of Government are under twelve crores. The value of old rupees recoined according to the Finance and Revenue Accounts is nearly eight crores. This total includes about twenty-five lakhs of native or Portuguese coin; and also the remintage of the present currency. I am disposed to estimate five crores as representing the recall of the old currencies.

If the estimates for the three Mints be totalled, it will be seen that they total over twenty-three crores (15+3\frac{1}{4}+5). In estimating the entire re-mintage, about two crores should be added to represent the rupees tendered by individuals and three crores for the remintage of these rupees by Native States.

NOTE B.—From 1835 to 1839 the receipts are not given in full detail, but are merely grouped according as the rupees were full or short weight. I can, however, give approximate figures from other sources showing the recall of the Company's old issues since 1835. The amount of sicca rupees recoined from 1839 up to date was Rs. 1,92,24,158; to this should be added Rs. 3,49,65,607 received between 1835 and 1839, according to a table given on page 62 of Prinsep's Useful Tables (edition 1879). If about twenty-five lakhs be added for the receipts of these coins in the Bombay and Madras Mints, the total recoinage in British Mints of sicca rupees since 1835 may be said to have been about five-and-three-quarter crores.

The receipts of Furrackabad rupees in the Calcutta Mint from 1839 have been about four-hundred-and-twenty-eight lakhs. Prinsep, on the 15th September 1839, estimated the recall from 1831-32 at about seventy lakhs odd (say, fifty from 1835). Adding to these figures an estimate for the receipts in the Madras and Bombay Mints, the recall may be taken to have been of about five-and-quarter crores.

The circulation of the sicca currency has been estimated

by me at less than seven crores, taking into consideration, on the one hand, that the receipts after 1838 cannot be said to be of coins circulating but rather hoarded; and, on the other, that the total amount circulating did not re-enter the mint.

The Furrackabad rupee being current until a very much later

date is in adequately represented by its re-mintage.

The Madras rupee was recoined in the Calcutta Mint to the extent of 159½ lakhs, whilst from 1835 to 1851 nearly a crore of these rupees were sent to Bombay. The recoinage at Madras may be estimated at about two crores: the recall therefore totalled about four-and-a-half crores.

With regard to the Bombay rupee, the data are too scanty for

me to venture upon any estimate.

Appendix D.

Unfortunately there is little information available as to the wear of silver coin. In 1868 Jevons estimated that the sovereign, of which the standard weight is 123'274, and the allowance for wear '774, became light after 18 years of life, but lowered this estimate to 15.7 years, on it being pointed out that his calculations made no allowance for the coin already recalled. This wearage is at a rate of '047 grains per annum. The twenty franc-piece has been found to wear at the rate of '05 annually, and the German double crown at the rate of '07. With regard to silver Dr. Soetbeer says "that the loss which silver suffers through abrasion, especially in the case of subsidiary coins, is, for obvious reasons, much greater than in the case of gold coins. Yet it is by no means so large as was formerly supposed." W. Jacob has put it at 3rd of one per cent. annually, but this rate is certainly too high. Moreover, in India, where the rapidity of circulation is slow, and coin is carried in a cloth and not allowed to jingle together as it does in the pockets of Europeans, the rate is lower than in the West. In the case of the older rupees the allowances for wear were somewhat diverse, and are given below:-

Coin,		Standard weight in grains.			Allowance.	
Old Sicca	***		179.666	Φ.	•••	.666
New Sicca	•••	•••	192		•••	2 grains
Furrackabad,	old	•••	173		•••	·648
,,	new	•••	180	•		1.875
Present rupee		*	180			3.6

It is apparent that although the older rates are not so very different from that allowed for the sovereign, the present rate is, weight for weight, rather more than treble. Whether this change be due to a less scrupulous regard to the preservation of a standard weight, or to the idea that the rate of wearage is rapid, I have no present means of ascertaining. In the report of the

American Mint for 1875 it is stated that "the result of careful observation and experiment in this country shows the average diminution of the whole body of silver currency to be about 1 per cent. in twelve years, quarter-dollars and dimes showing a greater percentage than half-dollars." The half-dollar, which is '900 fine and weighs 1929 grains, has been ascertained to lose '214 grains annually. If the wear of the rupee were similar, after making allowance for slight diffierence in weight and alloy, it would be about '2. A former Master of the Mint, however, has stated that the rupee wears light in fifty years, which would

be at the rate of '072 annually.

In 1881 the Master of the Bombay Mint reported that 1,00,348 rupees on weighment had lost on an average 2'2 grains. As these coins were shroff-marked, they were probably to the extent of 95 per cent, coin of the issues from 1835 to 1861. This is not a guess, but almost certainly the truth, for an examination of a lakh of marked coins in 1886, showed that the proportion then was nearly 85 per cent. It was also then found that the 1835 to 1840 coins were about one-third of this quantity, although the coinage of that period was sixteen crores, as compared with nearly 108 crores coined between 1840 and 1862, A consideration of all these cicumstances makes it probable, that the average year of issue of these coins examined in 1881. was 1850, and therefore it might be inferred that the rupee loses 2'2 grains in about 30 years (i. e., about '07 grains annually), and becomes short-weight in about 49 years. The statement made by the Bombay Mint to the effect that fifty years was the period, was probably based on lines similar to those just indicated. It must, however, be remembered that in 1881 shortweight rupees were not received at their nominal value, and it is therefore almost certain that the 1,00,348 rupees examined were rather heavier than the average circulating outside. On the other hand, shroff-marking itself reduces the weight of the coin, and it is incorrect to infer that other coin of the same issue is equally light. Weighments of shroff-marked coin by Colonel Riddell in 1886 showed that of the 1835 to 1840 issue, 40 per cent. were light and 85 per cent. had lost i per cent.—a result which goes to show that the rate is even slower than '07 a year. In 1890 twenty thousand coins of each of the early issues, viz., 1835-40, 1840-51, 1851-62 and 1862-73 were weighed and found to be 19,677.9, 19,761.8, 19,780.9 and 19,804'8 tolas respectively. Taking into account the recall of much of the early coin and the relative amounts coined each year, I think 1837, 1845, 1857, and 1865 may be taken to be the average years of issue. Upon these lines the rate of wastage of the three early issues is about '05 and that of the 1862-73 is '07 annually. The difference in these rates is

probably due partly to the well-known fact that coin wears more slowly when its surface was worn smooth, and partly to the greater security of the country and growth of trade, leading to a more rapid circulation. The present Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint, Dr. Scully, has most kindly weighed parcels of coin for me, which I procured from the receipts of the Calcutta Tramway Company, with the following result:

ay to the	YEAR.		Number.	Weight (in grains).	Rate of annual wearage (in grains).
10		paido	Rs.	c policy, ho	T - sees od
1877	100 Olom	to san	50	8960.382	056
1878		batgo	50	8954.990	069
1879	on bus A	namie	50	8963.019	190
1880	into in our	DVS(L	50	8959.157	074
1882	il enquired		50	8972.046	'062
erabio.	Total Average	out the	betalog !	the 9th May il 1827 defac	Q A 10322 adt

NOTE.—1. A rupee weighs 180 grains.

2. The number of years taken as the divisor is 14 in the case of 1877, 13 in 1878, and so on.

Some of these weighments were made in the following parcels and with the result noted below:-

YEAR.	Number.	Weight,	Rate.
of not less than 1	Rs.	or recalled re	light-weight
e rupes a tom.	ſ 28	5021'243	047
1877	22	3939.139	'067
and a series and the series	31	5557.651	'0 60
1879	[19	3405 368	'064
- October 17 mail fortage	1 28	5020.593	'063
1880	[22	3938.564	.088
-00	1 23	4127 373	.001
1882	1 27	4844.673	•063

It will be observed that, with the exception of a batch of 1877 and another of 1880, these results confirm those obtained by the general average. The weighments, however, made in 1881, 1886 and 1890 already adverted to, point to a somewhat higher average, which probably more correctly represents the and bankers, or shroffs, adopted the custom of chipping and

normal wearage of the currency after it has passed into circulation, inasmuch as no allowance has been made for the period during which the coins weighed by Dr. Scully were lying unissued in the vaults of Government. I am therefore disposed to the opinion that the rupee commences to wear light at the rate of '07 grains a year, and that this rate shrinks to a little more than '05 during its old age. In other words, that a rupee wears light in less than sixty years.

As it is now 56 years since the first issue of the present rupee, Government are likely to see worn coin finding its way to the mint in very much larger quantities than has hitherto been the case. The policy, however, adopted in 1881, of throwing upon the State the loss upon recoinage of worn coin is very general in Europe, and has been adopted by Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany, and no doubt by other countries with regard to which I have no information.

In 1851 the Accountant-General of Bengal enquired how lightweight new rupees were to be received, and Government, in a Resolution of the 9th May, pointed out that by their orders of the 26th April 1837, defaced rupees that had not lost more than 2 per cent. were receivable as legal tender, and directed that rupees which have lost more than 2 per cent. by reasonable wear, should be taken as bullion but without a charge for seignorage. In 1871 Government notified that called-in coin, and coin that has lost 2 per cent by reasonable wear, should be broken and returned to the tenderer, or paid for at the rate of one rupee a tola. In November of 1872 Treasery officers, bankers and the principal officials of the Presidency Port Trusts and Municipalities were empowered to break light and counterfeit coin. Early in 1877 Mint Masters were empowered to receive light-weight or recalled rupees in parcels of not less than 1,000 tolas and to pay for them at the rate of one rupee a tola. From the year 1851 till the Government orders, conveyed in their Resolution of the 17th August 1881, the loss on light-weight coin fell on the last holder, but thereafter it was ruled that light-weight coin reasonably worn should be taken at par but not re-issued, and this order has been repeated in a Resolution of the Government issued in February 1891. This last Resolution consolidated the old orders, extended the powers of breaking to sub-treasury officers, and ordered coin of earlier date than the 1st September 1835 to be cut, or broken, and returned to the tenderer, or taken by weight at Re. I a tola.

A history of the action taken by Government in recalling coin is not complete without a brief reference to the practice of shroff-marking. The natural result of the monetary confusion that prevailed throughout India was that money-changers and bankers, or shroffs, adopted the custom of chipping and

marking coins that passed through their hand in the course of business. These marks were sometimes considerable enough to materially lighten the coin, but are generally not noticeable except on a somewhat close inspection. Section xiii of Regulation XXXV of 1793 prohibited the marking of coin and ordered its rejection at public treasuries. Regulation, II of 1812, however, modified this by admitting their receipt, if the deficiency in weight was not more than six annas per cent. Act XVII of 1835 declared that clipped, filed, or defaced rupees were not legal tender, and Act XXXI of 1839 went a step further in making it penal to clip, file, drill or deface rupees, if the intention was fraudulent. On the 11th November 1840 money-changers were directed by proclamation not to deface rupees. In January of the next year it was notified that seignorage would not be taken on tenders of marked coin of legal weight.

As might have been supposed from the varying attitude taken up by Government, the practice as regards receipt of shroff-marked coin was not uniform. In 1865 the Punjab Accountant-General sent over two lakks of coin to the mint, much of which was shroff-marked, and Government, in consequence, directed the reissue of marked coin when fit for circulation and of legal weight. The question again came up in 1878, and it was notified that shroff-marked and defaced coin not under weight might be received at par at the nearest Currency Office until the 30th September 1879. In the case, however, of the North-West Provinces, this date was enlarged, and in the Punjab it was extended to the 1st January 1882, and therefore was, to a considerable extent, inoperative, as in 1881 Government ordered the receipt of all coin at par which had not been fraudulently reduced in weight, whether shroff-marked or not. In all from 1878 to 1887 the withdrawals of marked coin somewhat exceeded three-andhalf crores of rupees, and now are probably (the figures for 1887-88 and 1888-89 are 75 lakhs over a crore more.

As is usual when there is a good deal to be said on both sides, the action of the Government is seen to have been vacillating in their treatment of the custom. On the one hand. it has been argued that it is undesirable that coin of the ruling power should undergo an endorsement of its purity by a village money-changer, and it has also been pointed out that marking reduces the weight and increases the rate of wearage. On the opposite side, it has been urged that the practice is dying out, and it is an unnecessary expense to recoin rupees that are other-

wise unexceptionable.

Mr. Westland, on enquiry in 1886, found that the older issues of 1835 and 1840 were ten times more shroff-marked than the later ones, and advocated the withdrawal, as likely to be

effectual, and because it assisted the recall of issues that are almost certainly under weight. The objection on the score of expense is, he contended, not a strong one. Sooner or later the coin finds its way to Calcutta and generally at the expense of Government, however skilful the banking expedients may be that are employed to lighten the charge. Sooner or later also the coin must be recalled. Though I concur generally with these views, I am disposed to believe that they are slightly overstated. The attention of the Government has generally been concentrated on the circulation in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, where the practice of shroff-marking was extensive, and the older issues are present in a larger proportion. But it is reported from Madras that large amounts of shroff-marked coin are in circulation, although the proportion of the older issues to those put forth from 1862 to 1873 is smaller. Moreover, shroff-marked coin is sometimes preferred for hoarding, and it is not improbable that more than one famine may be required before the currency can be properly purged. The practice still obtains in localities near Native States, such as the Hyderabad Assigned Tracts, Amritsar in the Punjab, Meerut and Pertabgurh in the North-West, and in Kashmir. Recently, in 1888, out of a remittance of eightcen lakhs of coin from Kashmir, only 26,000 rupees were found unmarked. This may be due to the fact that in many Feudatory Hill States a goldsmith is employed to test the State Receipts, and is required to mark the coin that he passes as genuine. and it detun lodt in the begrafue saw out being sporty

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ART. VII.-ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury.
By RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D., Bishop of Rochester, late Dean of Windsor, and WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York, 1891.

THEN Charles Lamb, in one of his paradoxical humours, professed the conviction that Shakespeare was a greatly overrated author, and that his sonnets were not so good as such imaginative ware should be, Lamb's audience forgave the heresy, on the score of their good friend's eccentric way of looking out on the world of criticism as well as the world at large. It is quite possible that a not altogether unworthy minority might consider the forgiveness uncalled for; that some men and women of cultured minds, while willing enough to accord worshipfulness to Shakespeare's good work, might hold that all his work was not equal, and that there were spots on his sun, as upon others. With the very reverse of desire to dabble in parodox à la Charles Lamb, and deploring, while submitting to, the risk which all nonconformity runs of being labelled eccentric, we are constrained to conclude, after reading the two voluminous volumes lying before us, that the Bishop of Rochester and Canon Benham would have produced a much better biography of their bright particular sun had they admitted the existence of some spots on its surface, however few.

Sunspot gilding apart, the story of Archibald Campbell Tait's life told in these two books induces us to believe that he was a greatly overrated man, unless we accept success as the sole arbiter of worth. It is a fashion to pooh pooh luck : yet it would not be easy to account for all the good chances that came in Tait's way without invoking the aid of some such deus ex machina. How else could it happen to a Scotchman of the middle classes, with Presbyterian propensities, to be a College tutor in England at the turning point of the great Oxford movement, half a century ago; therefrom, although admittedly not a scholar, to proceed to the Head Mastership of a great public school, and its customary corollary a Bishopric, in more fateful and stormy times for the Church of England than it has encountered since the Reformation? The St. George's-in-the-East Riots; Essays and Reviews; Bishop Colenso's "Pentateuch;" the Clerical Subscription Controversy; the Mackonochie case; the Disestablishment of the Irish Churchthese are indices that, sufficiently for our present purpose, mark the frequency and variety of storm and stress for the Church

which constitutes the Act of Homage."-Luary, December 5th, 1856.

through which the Bishop of London had to steer. With all the eccelesiastical revolutions indicated, Tait was necessarily concerned; was, so to speak, ex officio pars. Albeit, with the Church Apostolic he was careful never to identify himself, remaining throughout his career Presbyterian rather than Episcopalian in his view of the Constitution and the discipline proper for what was for him no whit more than an English Kirk, by law

and Parliament established.

His life affords instance of heredity prevailing over deflecting circumstance and environment which should be taken note of by Mr. Galton. From the very outset the canny Scot side of his character revealed itself, and was improved upon, as the years rolled on, in the development of a talent for compromise, More opportune talent could not have been devised for him. If he had been an uncompromising Churchman, if he had had more and stronger personality, if he had been a scholar and impelled to be logical, he would not have been able to pilot through storms the establishment of which he was moderator, with so little damage to its keel. An opportunist Bishop and Archbishop was a need of the time: to that time Archibald Campbell Tait was appropriately born, and, with happy fortuitousness, put in a position to do his appointed work in it. The very fact of his being a Scotchman, and, as such, devoid of distinctively English sympathies, untoward though that circumstance on the surface appears, was in reality helpful to him in his office, over and above rendering him persona grata with the Queen.* Again, his esoteric proclivities towards Presbyterianism were unobtrusive and unaggressive, while to one party in the Church they appeared a recommendation rather than otherwise, though he never possessed the confidence of the Low Church leaders, and was not approved of by Lord Shaftesbury. As to the effect of Tait's Scotch religious affinities on the Church of which he was Primate, does not "the judicious Hooker," discussing in his Ecclesiastical Polity the rival merits of episcopal jurisdiction and " a popular authority of elders in matters, of Church discipline," tell us, that these are " in truth, for the greatest part, such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in a serious manner?" Not much in Tait's line were either Church discipline or the polemics of divinity: his title to respect, as a dignitary of the Church, is that he was a more precise man of

^{* &}quot;I was conducted, by Sir George Grey, into the Queen's closet—a very small room—where I found the Queen and Prince Albert. Having been presented by Sir George, I kneeled down on both knees before the Queen, just like a little boy at his mother's knee. I placed my joined hands between hers, while she stooped her head so as almost to bend over mine, and I repeated slowly and solemnly the very impressive words of the oath which constitutes the Act of Homage."—Diary, December 5th, 1856.

business, of the red tape order, than any of his predecessors; as is shown in the fact that he multiplied so greatly the correspondence in connection with his diocese, and de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis, that additional chaplains had to be appointed to cope with the ever-increasing tide of letters received and

letters to be replied to.

In our judgment, ambition was the dominant trait in Archbishop Tait's character, though, like the typical Bishop as popularly painted, he understood the uses of the formula Nolo Episcopari, and an appearance of self-effacement perennially shone through his public actions and admonitions to his clergy. Priggish ambition was observed in the child in the nursery. When he was a tutor at Balliol, his friend Pugh wrote to him :- " If I may speak my mind to you, I should say ambition was one of your greatest snares, and I am sure there are others of your friends who think so too." We read (page 87) that, in the course of the controversy over the Four Tutors' protest, "more than one of Tait's correspondents warns him against the temptation to put himself unduly forward." As Bishop of London, "he was a stiff upholder of the rights of his office"-with regard to ceremonial, the details of a procession, and the like Little straws show which way the wind doth blow. Tait's ambition was always held in check, as well as cloaked, by a canny, cautious habit of feeling his way beforehand, that was with him as much an instinct as it is with an elephant fording a stream, or working through a patch of jungle. Only once in his life was he gratuitously aggressive. That was when he was quite a young man, and callow, and pushed himself to the front as one of the Four Tutors taking it on themselves, in the name of the University, to protest against the publication of Tract XC. Much credit is claimed for him on the score of his toleration. as exhibited, inter alia, in his admission of Dissenters to communion in the eucharistic sacrament in Church of England Churches; in his countenance of the Salvation Army; in his attitude with regard to the Burials Bill, &c. Toleration of the sort indicated appears to us in his case, and considering his position at the time, at best, a negative virtue, born of passivity of temperament, proceeding from inability to comprehend, far less to sympathise with, Church rule and doctrine. He might quite as justly be praised for his imperviousness to sentiment, his inability to feel poetry, or for that deficiency of enthusiasm on which he was mentally short-sighted enough to plume himself. It was a distinguishing mark of the man, hid under his vestments, that he had no spark of it either for things sacred or things profane.

There was no room in him for even such approach to the divine afflatus as a burning indignation may afford: that, too

was for his spiritual superficies an ever unknown quantity. Just the man, in short, for an above-all-things utilitarian era, that was brimming over with schemes for reforming all the worlds and all the stars, and meanwhile exalting to honour the ability of its alumni to talk by the hour against time, and say nothing the while. Accordingly, we find him assiduous in memorising statistics, and in the study of cants and catchwords in the auction that some latter day Liberals are pleased to call politics. He had a supple power of speech, which, fortunately, or unfortunately, had a trick of misleading interlocutors; some of whom resented it. E. g. and apropos of Essays and Reviews, we quote from a letter from Dr. Temple, Head Master of Rugby at the time, to the Bishop of London. The letter bears date 3rd March, 1861:—

"I wish I could feel that I had misrepresented what passed between us at Fulham. But I have a very distinct recollection of what was said. You expressed disapproval of what I had done in joining the other writers in the volume. You quoted Dean Milman's remark about solidarity. You advised me to publish. But not one word did you say in my hearing of disapproval of my essay. Even your disapproval of the whole book was not in such a tone as would have conveyed to any ordinary listener that you were prepared to do what you have since done. Jowett came immediately after I left. Naturally enough, when we met, I asked him what sort of conversation you had with him. His reply was (I give his words), 'Tait was very kind, and, on the whole,

even gave me the impression that he agreed with me.'

"I do not think you can be quite aware of the pain that you give in this way. You evidently fancy that you convey one impression when you mean to convey another. The result is that your friends complain that they cannot count on you: your enemies say that they can; and that you will always do what is popular with the Low Church party.

Lady Wake, the Archbishop's sister, who was twelve years his senior in age, has furnished his biographers with many particulars of his life in childhood, and about the Tait family, &c. "Two hundred years ago," she says, "there dwelt in Aberdeenshire—transplanted, however, from the south of Scotland—a family, valued for their worth, the Taits of Ludquharn, of the class that used to be known in Scotland by name of bonnet lairds,'—honest men, living on their own farms, and wearing the broad blue bonnet that marked the simplicity of rural and patriarchal lives far removed from the fashions and customs of towns." † The future Archbishop's father was a man

t The ravens which formed part of the armorial bearings of Archbishop Tait, have their origin in the following legend:—" There dwelt in the wilds of Galloway, in the days of Robert Bruce, a lady known as the Widow of the Peak, whose three brave sons were devoted to the adventurous king. His hiding-places among the mountains had again and again been discovered by means of three ravens who followed and hovered over the little band. At length Murdoch, youngest son of the Widow of the Peak, brought down the traitorous ravens with his arrows, and was rewarded by the grateful king with the lands of Cumlodden."

of sanguine temperament and great faith in machinery and modern inventions, whereby he dissipated a once comfortable fortune. He was very fond of argument. He was blessed in his wife, a gentle, helpful woman, endued with much beauty and sweetness of character. It was a great sorrow to her that two of her sons-Archie one of them-were born with their feet "completely doubled inwards." Compassionating this affliction, Archie became the special charge of and favourite with old Betty Morton, one of the past type of servants who identify themselves with the families they serve. Betty was a nursery martinet for all that, and, as she was a strict Sabbatarian, Sunday amusements at Harviestoun were restricted to study of the absorbing pictures in an ancient Family Bible, "dedicated to Catherine Parr, and full of such illustrations as that of a man with a beam as large as a rafter sticking straight out of his eye." To systematic study of the letterpress accompanying such specimens of pre-Raphaelite art, Archibald Tait and his sisters attributed, in after years, their unusually thorough

acquaintance with the details of Scripture History.

When Archie was between seven and eight years old, his feet continuing to all appearance hopelessly deformed, it was decided to send him and his brother for treatment to the then famous Whitworth doctors-bonesetters would be a proper nomenclature, unless one is prepared to accept their catholical 'green salve' and 'red bottle' dispensations as faith healings. They appear to have achieved quite as much success as the quack medicines of the present day, and they were cheaper. The Doctor's charge for a week's medicine, with medical attendance thrown in, was only eighteenpence. On Archie Tait (he being too young for faith in faith healing) no experiments were made with salves and bottles; his feet and ankles were encased and compressed in stiff tin boots, which were nevertaken off, night or day, for six months-treatment that may have been empirical, but, conjoined with country air and idleness, seems to have effected a cure. It is odd, though, to find people of the Taits' position in society thus confiding in far away quack doctors, in preference to legitimate practitioners close at hand. There were no railways then; only carriers' vans. Returning to Edinburgh in amended health. Archie Campbell Tait was admitted, in October 1821, to the celebrated High School of the city. Edinburgh, in 1821, was still the modern Athens, receptive, literary, culture-loving. It had its season, like London and Bath, and to its pump rooms all the best people, north of the Tweed, resorted, in winter time, in obedience to society's unwritten law. For a lad with good introductions the city was an educator as promotive of the advancement of learning as the school itself, with its memories of Walter Scott, Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, Horner, and Henry Cockburn. Some 700 lads' names were borne on its muster rolls, of all sorts and conditions of family—noblemen's sons, small shopkeepers' sons, farmers' sons, one or two of them sons of menial servants in the town. "There they were, sitting side by side, giving and taking places from each other, without the slightest impression on the part of my noble friends of any superiority on their parts over the other boys, or any ideas of inferiority on the part of other boys to them," so Brougham wrote. Three years spent at such a school, three more at the Edinburgh Academy, similarly constituted, were no bad apprenticeship to liberal mindedness. The founders of the Academy "kept their eye on utility—little or nothing on amenity." Some concession was, however, made to ingenuous arts. Betty Morton was his tutor.

"In his earlier school-days," says Lady Wake, "the faithful Betty was his only help in learning his lessons. She used to hold the Latin books close to her eyes, diligently following each word as he repeated page after page. 'Ay, it maun be richt; it's just word for word, and it sounds like it,' was his encouragement, or else a sudden lowering of the book, with 'Na na, it's no that ava', would warn him that he was wrong: Of one principal part of his education she was absolute mistress, and none could have been better. She took care that he was out of bed early in the morning, and allowed no relaxation on this point. This was no unimportant help, for had he been left to himself, delicate as he was, the little fellow would hardly have had the resolution required."

He became dux and cleared the board of prizes, as model men always do when they are schoolboys; and, when he was leaving the school, or Glasgow University, Lord Cockburn concluded a complimentary address to him in these words:—"Go forth, young man, and remember that, wherever you go, the eyes of your country are upon you?" As a matter of fact his country's stomach would appear to have been more helpful to him than his country's eyes.

The students of the University had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with any of the residents in or near Glasgow who were disposed to show them hospitality, and Tait had a special advantage in the fact that Sir Archibald Campbell, of Garscube, one of the chief landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, was his uncle and friend. His Sundays were frequently spent at Garscube, and he used himself to declare that, as a matter of fact, he owed his 'Snell Exhibition,' not to any merits of his own, but to the ready and profuse hospitality shown at Sir Archibald's table to the College Professors, in whose hands the election lay.

The Snell Exhibition involved going to Oxford to matriculate. The first stage thereto, Leith to London, by steamer;

In a speech at a Balliol dinner many years afterwards, he referred to it as a process of "natural selection."

and, on the third day out, "the Captain summoned us on deck with: 'Now, gentlemen, come up and you will see the finest sight in the world.'" It was the mouth of the Thames. From London to Oxford, by stage coach.

"How well I remember," he wrote long afterwards, "the gloomy journey through the deep snow, and my first impression of Balliol. I slept at the 'Angel,' and next morning repaired to Balliol at the hour Dr. Jenkyns, the Master of the College, had appointed. Not feeling in high feather, I waited in the rooms, afterwards so familiar, for the dreaded interview, and after a time Dr. Jenkyns appeared, a little man, faultless in his academical dress, with a manner that might be called finnikin, and speech to match, his words seeming to be clipped as they left his lips. He received me with a pompous kindness, saying, 'I will send for the Senior Proctor,' a title which was intended to, and did rather overawe me, a freshman, not knowing that he meant simply the tutor of the College, who happened then to hold that University office. The Proctor shortly appeared in his black velvet sleeves. I was invited to sit on a little sofa, and a book placed in my hands. It was Lucan, a book of which I knew nothing, and I was told to construe a passage that looked to me a mass of difficulties. Catching, however, at the meaning of a few words, I saw that it was an account of Cæsar in the boat between Brundusium and Dyrrachium, and, with the courage of the hero himself, I dashed through the difficulties, and gave a rapid. and providentially—a correct translation of Cæsar and his fortunes. The approbation of the Master and the Proctor was very decided. 'And now, Mr. Tait,' said Dr. Jenkyns, in his peculiarly clipped rather than polished English, 'allow me to ask you with what view you come here?' This was rather a poser. I knew nothing of the man who spoke, or of his peculiarities; but, by a happy inspiration, made reply: 'First, in order to study, and also. I hope, to benefit by the society of the College.' I had hit upon the very answer to please him. 'Mr. Tait,' he said, with an approving smile, 'your answer is that of a very sensible young man, and I am happy to welcome you to Balliol.' From that day forward I always kept my place in the good books of the master. While this process had been going on, little Oakeley, afterwards so kind a friend, limped in to have a good look at his new pupil."

Of Tait's undergradnate days there is not very much to tell. He worked hard and successfully, we are told, but was not much known beyond the walls of his own college—except for the prominent part he took in debates at the Union. Before he had been six months in residence, he stood forth, in opposition to Roundell Palmer, to defend 'the Spirit of Demo-

cracy,' and the happy results of Catholic Emancipation.

The last debate in which he took part was on March 28th, 1835, when he affirmed that a legislative provision for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland would be a most beneficial measure. Thirty-four years afterwards, in his place in the House of Lords, he said much the same thing in the course of the Irish Church debates. Robert Lowe, as Chairman at one Union debate, once fined Tait for disobedience to the order of the Chair. "It is the only occasion," Lord Sherbrooke wrote, years afterwards, "on which I ever fined an

Archbishop for disorderly behaviour." The moral seems to be that gentlemen whose profession it is to teach grammar, are not always grammatical themselves. Tait took his degree in 1833, obtaining a first class in the final Classical Schools. "I do not know," he says, "how much this success was due to my vivâ voce examination in Aristotle, which was conducted by William Sewell, but I know that Sewell, in consequence of this examination, recommended me to several pupils, and always had a friendly feeling towards me through his long, chequered, and sadly overclouded life." Immediately on taking his degree, Tait went to Scotland for the Christmasholidays, just in time to attend at the bedside and soothe and comfort the last moments on earth of his faithful nurse Betty Morton.

Tait's biographers deem it a coincidence worth noticing that "three at least among the leading public men of our generation-Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Lawrence, and Archbishop Tait -have, each of them, in recalling the main influences which contributed to mould their lives, assigned a foremost place to the nurse of their early years." After Betty's death, Tait returned to Oxford, bent on obtaining a Balliol Fellowship. In the meantime he took pupils, much as your future R. A., in his salad days, paints potboilers. In due season he got the fellowship, and a year afterwards became a College Tutor. Among his pupils in that capacity were Arthur Stanley, Goulburn, Jowett, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Coleridge, Temple, Bishop of London, Matthew Arnold. Contemporaneously with Tait's entrance on his new sphere of collegiate influence and dignity, the Tracts for the Times were preparing the way for the Catholic revival that was shortly afterwards in full swing, and John Henry Newman's influence was at its height, and held men spell-bound. Tait was never on intimate terms with Newman or Pusey, but he had friends amongst the Tractarians, and Oakeley, Ward, Golightly and others. Tait was constitutionally unable, and because of the upbringings and environments of his early life, disinclined, to form a competent judgment as to the characteristics and outcomes of the new Catholic teaching. As Principal Shairp puts

"His Scotch nature and education, his Whig principles, and, I may add, the evangelical views which he had imbibed, were wholly antipathetic to this movement; so entirely antipathetic that I do not think he ever, from first to last, caught a glimpse of the irresistible attraction which it had for younger and more ardent natures, or of the charm which encircled the leaders of it, especially the character of John Henry Newman. To his downright common sense the whole movement seemed nonsense, or at least the madness of incipient Popery. Evening by evening, in Balliol common-room, he held strengous debate with Ward, who was a champion of the new

opinions. To Tait's stout reassertion of the old Protestant fundamentals, momentum was added by his high personal character and the respect in which he was universally held."

Notwithstanding all the antecedents that, in a natural sequence, led up to Tract XC, that sapping of the thirty-nine Articles and subscription thereto took Oxford by surprise, startled the University, much as a bomb thrown into a sleepy, unexpectant city at a time of profound peace might do. There followed the Four Tutors' Protest, the Bishop of Oxford's recommendation that the series of Tracts for the Times should be discontinued, Newman's acquiescence in this advice. "Such." say Tait's biographers, "was the immediate consequence of the 'Four Tutors' action. Whether that action was wise, or unwise, it had at least the merit of straightforwardness and courage. It has been sometimes spoken of as a bid for popularity in Oxford. The accusation betrays an absolute unacquaintance with the then state of Oxford opinion." Tait always, then and afterwards, expressed confidence in the personal character and high purpose of Doctor Newman himself. But he distrusted his qualifications as a religious teacher.

In the course of a discussion, which took place at Addington in 1877, he was asked to give his then view of Dr. Newman's character. The following is a note of his reply:—

"I have always regarded Newman as having a strange duality of mind. On the one side is a wonderfully strong and subtle reasoning faculty; on the other a blind faith, raised almost entirely by his emotions. It seems to me that in all matters of belief he first acts on his emotions, and then he brings the subtlety of his reason to bear, till he has ingeniously persuaded himself that he is logically right. The result is a condition in which he practically is unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood."

To us it appears, not that blind faith was a characteristic of Newman's mental organisation, but that a severely logical bent of mind drove him to unquestioning faith as a refuge from logical conclusions. Tait's note on Newman appears to us more applicable to Mr. Gladstone. One word more in connection with the Four Tutors' Protest. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Tait's favourite pupil, was at Rome when he heard of it. Thence he wrote a letter beginning, "O my dear Belvedere*," in which the following passage occurs, "seriously, my dear Greis,† do not draw these Articles too tight, or they will strangle more parties than one. I assure you, when I read the monition of the Heads, I felt the halter at my own throat. Before leaving the tutorial period of Tait's life at Oxford, it

One of the names by which Tait was known among his Oxford friends, his curly hair being said to resemble that of the statue in the Vatican.

[†] Another nickname.

is fitting that we should take note of Dean Lake's reminiscences of it. His pronounced Scotchness, and correspondentinclination to 'Metapheesics,' rather than scholarship, impressed their memory on the Dean's. "His intellectual character as a teacher often came out in lively hits at anything which he thought over-poetical or mystical; he was anything but fond of Plato, and very impatient of his and Aristotle's discussions on 'Ideas,' and he was currently reported to have called one favourite writer-I think his own countryman, Brown-'a long winded old ass,' while we retorted by humorous criticisms on a rather weary disquisition between the 'Fancy and the Imagination,' which he had crammed up for our benefit out of Wordsworth and Coleridge. As to his Divinity Lectures, he was, as well as I remember, a good deal exercised by the Calvinism of the 17th Article, and, indeed, when he was on the point of standing for a Glasgow Professorship of Greek in 1840, where the acceptance of a Predestinarian Article was then generally swallowed as a mere matter of form, he at once, on hearing of this, declined to become a candidate."

Dean Lake bids us bear in mind that Tait was, throughout life, a man of action rather than of the deepest thought, and that his life at Oxford was passed at a very remarkable time, which made his position there a peculiar and very iso-

ated one.

With John Henry Newman he was not in sympathy, and "the one great power which then ruled and inspired Oxford was John Henry Newman, the influence of whose singular combination of genius and devotion has had no parallel there, either before or since." Professor Shairp, who gives evidence to the same effect, says: "The influence which Newman had gained, apparently without setting himself to seek it, was altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him, till now it was almost as if some Ambrose, or Augustine, of elder days had reappeared." He adds: "There was not, in Oxford at least, a reading man who was not more or less indirectly influenced by it." The Senior Tutor of Balliol was influenced by it to latent hostility, did offer a cold shoulder to it, found himself consequently in such isolated, ungenial atmosphere, as the man who cannot swim with a popular tide must always engender around him in any local little Pedlington. And in some of its aspects, University life can be very Pedlingtonian indeed; witness the recent row over the Spinning House case and Miss Daisy Hopkins at Oxford.

The uncomfortableness of residence at Oxford was not long prolonged. Dr. Arnold died on the 12th of June 1842, and ten days later, Archibald Tait, mainly at the instigation of

Lake and Stanley, declared himself a candidate for the Head Mastership of Rugby; other applicants for it were Dr. C. J. Vaughan, Professor Bonamy Price, and Mr. Merivale. Lake had been an intimate friend of Arnold's and was well acquainted with his views and methods. After urging Tait's candidature, he would seem to have been troubled with second thoughts, and, a few days before the election, we find him writing:—

"O, my dear Tait, I do not envy you if you do get it. I quite quake for the awful responsibility, putting on that giant's armour. However, I really believe you are far the best. My main fears are for your sermons being dull, and your Latin prose, and composition generally, weak, in which latter points you will have, I think, hard work. But I earnestly say, as far as we can see, 'God grant he may get it!'"

Arthur Stanley, too, had second thoughts, and, before the election had actually taken place, had ceased to support his quondam tutor's assumption of fitness to wear Arnold's mantle. In spite of objections on the part of some of the Rugby Masters, Tait was elected by the Trustees, the issue having been finally narrowed to consideration of the relative merits of two of the youngest of the eighteen candidates—Archibald Tait and Charles John Vaughan—and Tait having been preferred. Whereupon, Stanley wrote to him: "The awful intelligence of your election has just reached me." Again, a few days later, "I feel as if your appointment to this tremendous office, without an ordination, had given a shock to my tendencies to believe in Apostolical succession which they will never recover." Tait's inauguration as Head Master was solemnized on Sunday, the 14th August 1842, and Stanley's nerves had by that time so far recovered equilibrium that he was able to preach in the school chapel on the occasion. The New Head Master was, we are told, deeply moved by the sors liturgica which gave, as the opening words of the Epistle for the day: "Such trust have we through Christ to God-wards, not that we are sufficient of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." The Rugby tradition was at its zenith when Tait assumed the reins of government, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury is of opinion that Tait and his second-in-command (afterwards Bishop) Cotton probably overstrained the amount of reponsibility and high-strung sense of duty which Arnold had made a part of the older boys' education. "Some few boys flung off from it entirely," and others came to Oxford in Tait's earlier days overweighted. We, older Rugbians, had perhaps been as bad; but we used to think that the younger generation carried the flag of 'moral thoughtfulness rather too high.' . He (Tait) was not, of course, remarkable as a scholar, and from the first wisely had the assistance of a composition master. But his teaching was, so far as I can say, thoroughly

good in the main, better, I think, than that of many more brilliant scholars, and he always left on the mind of the sixth the idea of concientiousness and thorough work." Tait staid seven years at Rugby, and worked very hard and very conscien. tiously there, week in and week out, buoyed up with an inflated idea, peculiar to the locality, that Rugby was the centre of the world, and that only genius could fitly preside over its destinies; to which state of grace he assiduously strove to work up in a quietist way. Cotton summed up his position by applying to him Tertullus' words to Felix: "Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that many worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence." On the 22nd June 1843 the Head Master of Rugby was married to Catherine, youngest daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, Vicar of Elmdon. She had been theretofore an enthusiastic Tractarian; and, when she heard that one of the "Four Tutors" was a candidate for the Head Mastership of Rugby, she earnestly hoped that his candidature would be unsuccessful.

A year afterwards she was married to this bête noir. Such are

the healing virtues and uses of propinquity.

A severe illness, ensuing on overwork, made Tait glad of the dignified retirement offered for his acceptance by Lord John Russell, in the shape of the Deanery of Carlisle. It was generally supposed that his days of active work had been put a period to by rheumatic fever, and that the residue of his life would be devoted to lettered ease, an occasional pamphlet, an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, or classical and theological research. We find Lord Cockburn advising him thus:—

"I see redeeming advantages in your new position. It will give you ease, consequently health, leisure, and, I trust, ambition to embalm yourself worthily in some original work. . . . I know that, in point of usefulness and celebrity, the crosier has no chance against the pen in the long run. Don't doze upon the cushion, which is too often the only use that high official cushions are put to. I want you to write a great book on a good subject. Next to this—though they may be united—do, pray, distinguish yourself as the apostle and the type of that common sense, which is perhaps more rare than it might be among some Churchmen, though it be the Church's only true buttress." Other friends wrote in a similar strain. They had very

Other friends wrote in a similar strain. They had very imperfectly guaged the mettle of their man. He did much parish work, as well as work for the Cathedral at Carlisle, and made himself known as an advocate of wide reforms in the University system at Oxford. "On April 25th, 1850, Mr. Heywood, the Radical member for North Lancashire, moved, in the House of Commons, a long resolution to the effect that all systems of academical education require modification from time to time; that the ancient English and Irish Universities have not made such modifications, and therefore are

not promoting, as they might, the interests of religious and useful learning, and requesting the issue of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities, 'with a view to assist in the adaptation of these important institutions to the requirements of modern times.'" The Oxford University Commission was in the air at the time; and, when it was constituted, Tait was one of the Church dignitaries appointed to serve on it, and was recognised, in the letters of his brother Commissioners, as largely responsible for the final shape which their Report took, and especially for the form of its practical recommendations. In addition to changes of constitution and sundry reforms, Dean Tait desired full enquiry into the whole question of the oaths imposed by Colleges on their members.

"Why," he asked, "should a man be forced solemnly to call the Holy Trinity to witness that he will obey statutes which he knows to be almost entirely abrogated? To require this is surely to trifle with things most sacred. Any one who reads carefully the oaths required by some of our College statutes will grant that they are relics of a barbarous and irreligious state of society, and these awful denunciations will strongly remind him of the device by which William of Normandy tried to entrap unawares the superstitious conscience of his guest whom he thought neither promise nor common oath could bind. Some at least of the College oaths seem to be constructed on this principle of terrifying into superstitious obedience those whose consciences were not to be trusted. . . . These College oaths are often profane; they are always liable to be misunderstood, and they are apt to strain and destroy the fineness of the conscience. . . . We earnestly recommend that the Legislature declare the imposition of such oaths to be altogether illegal."

His colleagues on the Commission were too conservative to go with him in this reform, or in some others which he advocated; but his assertion of liberal principles in the teeth of Tory opposition, at a head centre of Toryism, stood him in good stead with Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston and the Government of the day, and his elevation to a Bishopric was felt to be a mere question of time, the only difficulty in the way being Lord Shaftesbury's objection to him, as belonging to the dangerous Arnoldian School. However, he was acknowledged much the best of that school, and there being four Sees vacant, and some one or other having to be appointed, and Protestant Pope Shaftesbury being more fussy and hard to please than usual, Lord Palmerston seems to have lost patience with him, and, instead of nominating Dean Tait to Norwich, or "elsewhere," as advised, pitchforked him per saltum into the See of London, and doubtless chuckled over Lord Salisbury's astonishment and wrath at this interference with his assumed prerogative. Tait's biographers do not tell us this; but the story may be fairly deduced from between the lines.

At the time that Tait was preferred to an Ecclesiastical office, second in dignity and importance only to the Primacy, he had done scarcely any pastoral work; he was unknown upon so-called religious platforms; he had scarcely ever attended a clerical meeting, and had never sat in Convocation. And he found himself regarded with suspicion by many clerics, who looked askance upon his association with the 'Sacrilegious Whigs.' Strictly episcopal work he knew absolutely nothing about, and it was, we read, "startling, therefore, to others besides himself to see him placed quite suddenly at the head of the

largest diocese in the world."

We fail to see why it should have been startling; it was a fashion of the times to regard the Public Schools in the light of preparatory schools for the episcopate, and Tait, after having done such service as he had for the Liberal Government of the day, and shown his fitness for more and better work of the same sort, could not but have known that he was sure of a Bishopric as soon as opportunity served. To suggest that he was surprised at his elevation is but a clumsy variation on the time-honoured Nolo Episcopari tradition. He was always man of action rather than student, always by way of being practical, and, in the field of Parliamentary politics, he found realisation of his concept of practicality; all the more readily because, at the time of his translation to the See of London, he thought humbly of his Episcopal Office, highly of its adaptabilities and pertinencies as a fulcrum convenient for the efficient handling of public affairs. He had given definite pledges to no party in the Church— High, Low, or Broad—; he was free to make use of each and all as might seem advisable to him for the time being. His actual leanings were rather towards Evangelicism than otherwise, but Lord Shaftesbury's distrust of him, which involved want of confidence on the part of all the Low Church party, saved him from suspicion of partisanship in that direction. Of inclination towards what was then called Puseyism, the tutorial action he had taken when at Oxford sufficiently absolved him. Broad Churchmanship was, in the early forties, an insignificant and very-little-considered quantity in clerical politics. Tait entered on his career as a Radical Bishop eclectic as to his affinities, with a free hand, and the advantages pertaining to an almost blank and very neutral tinted record as far as sectional differences within the pale of the Church were concerned with it. Tait's programme was substitution of Nationalism for Ecclesiasticism in the control and conduct of the Church's affairs. life infused into faith and worship by the vitality and propagandist virtues of the Oxford movement and "the restless earnestness" of Bishop Wilberforce and men like-minded with him, seemed to Tait to have isolated the Church, to be ever increasingly isolating the Church National, from Philistian regard. As in the Scandinavian Edda:—

Nowhere was found Earth, Or high Heaven; A swallowing throat there was, But no growth.

One may notice how, in out-of-the-way world's Thules, not only Scotch ones and Scilly island ones, Red Indian and Fiji island ones too-wheresoever in secluded pales and precincts, by whatsoever geographical name known, men and women have been stranded, and have for many generations lived an isolated, self-centred, unreceptive life-such modification of the gregarious inter-dependence proper for all societies has bred in them an exaggerated idea of their own importance. In Tait's thinking, this was what had happened to the Church of England. Like the bumptious boy in Friends in Council, it wanted taking down, not one peg, but many. Iconoclasm was a dispensation it stood seriously in need of, with view to ultimate recovery, and re-establishment on a veritably Catholic basis that should, by embracing all dissents and alienations from its canon, do away with them. From the moment of his appointment Tait " seems to have set before himself this national position as the one which needed all the emphasis he could give to it." He regarded the Church of England's efficiency rather as a means than an end,—a means of raising the Christian tone of the whole nation, whether in her legislature, her jurisdiction, or her social life. It was his aim to make the Church, in fact as well as in theory, a National Church, in a sense quite other than as embodying or expressing the Official Creed.

The first notable event of the London Episcopate was Bishop Tait's support of the Act for the establishment of a Divorce Court, as commentary on which course, and because, at the time, he incurred odium for taking it, we cannot do better than quote at length a finely ironical judgment delivered not long before the passing of the Act by Mr. Justice Maule in the case of a poor man found guilty of bigamy, who pleaded: "My wife was unfaithful: she robbed me, and ran away with another man, and I thought I might take another wife." The

learned Judge retorted :-

"Prisoner at the bar, you were entirely mistaken. The law in its wisdom points out a means by which you might have rid yourself from further association with a woman who had dishonoured you. But you did not think proper to adopt it. I will tell you what that process is. You ought to have brought an action for 'criminal conversation.' That action would have been tried before one of Her Majesty's Judges at the assizes. That might have cost you money, and you say that you are a poor working man. But that is not the fault of the law. You might perhaps have obtained

a verdict with damages against the defendant, who was not unlikely to turn out a pauper. But so jealous is the law (which you ought to know is the perfection of reason) of the sanctity of the marriage tie, that, in accomplishing all this, you would only have fulfilled the lighter portion of your duty. With your verdict in your hand, you should have instituted a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court for a divorce 'a mensâ et thoro.' Having got that divorce, you should have petitioned the House of Lords for a divorce 'a vinculo,' and should have appeared by counsel at the bar of their Lordships' House, Then, if the Bill passed, it would have gone down to the House of Commons; the same evidence would possibly have been repeated there: and if the Royal assent had been given, after that you might have married again. The whole proceeding would probably not have cost you more than £1,000, and you do not seem to be worth a thousand pence. But it is the boast of the law that it is impartial, and makes no difference between the rich and the poor. The richest man in the kingdom would have had to pay no less than that sum for the same means of obtaining freedom from the marriage tie. The sentence of the Court is, that you be imprisoned for the term of one day, and, the assize being now two days old, you are at liberty to quit the dock."

What then first became known as Ritualism—a development which had been discouraged as unnecessary or inexpedient by the earlier Tractarians,* became the next matter of the Bishop's concern: a much vexed, unprofitable, seemingly interminable figment of vanity and disputatiousness, the pros and cons of which have, for nearly forty years, now been argued and involuted, and gone back upon over and over again in the press and in pamphlets usque ad nauseam, till the mummery has grown to be occasion for just wrath as well as sorrow with all Church-loving churchmen endued with common sense, and not susceptible to that emotional devotion which millinery women are subject to. In this writing, disputes about vestments, ritualistic symbolism, &c., &c., will be referred to only when reference is necessary, in order to make the story

plain

Meanwhile, we may note what Tait wrote to the Senior Churchwarden of St. George's-in-the-East, in September 1859:—
"It is not by compulsory force of law, but by authority of a gentler kind, that a Bishop most effectively works." As to the rioting at St. George's-in-the-East, we find it written:—
"The keepers of the dens of drink and infamy, who reap their nightly harvest from the sailors and others in the neighbourhood of London docks, were doubtless ranged, to a man, under the so-called 'Protestant' banner during the St. George's riots of 1859. But it would be a simple error of fact to confound the mission work of Mr. Lowder with the movement,

^{*} Thirty years ago Ritualism was often styled Puseyism, and derived from Dr. Pusey, who always repudiated the frilling, and lost no opportunity of disclaiming responsibility for it. Even to this day, not a few well informed people deem Ritualist and High Churchman synonyms.

such as it was, which produced these disturbances." Mr. Bryan King, the Rector of the parish, went far beyond mere Ritualism, as will be seen from the following extracts from a catechism circulated by him among his parishioners:—

Q. Are all the Bishops equal?

A. All are equal in their office, but some are higher in honour than others, as Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, of whom the first is the Bishop of Rome, the Patriarch of the West.

Q. What is the fourth commandment of the Church?

A. To confess our sins to our pastor, or some of the priests, whenever they trouble us.

Q. At what time may children begin to go to Confession?

A. When they come to the use of reason, so as to be capable of mortal sin, which is generally supposed to be about the age of seven years.

Q. What is the Holy Eucharist?

A. It is the true Body and Blood of Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine.

Q. How do the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ?

A. By the power of God, to whom nothing is impossible or difficult. Ultimately, Mr. King was compromised with, a benefice in a country parish in the Diocese of Salisbury being procured for him.

Tait's best work in London was, what his biographers term, Evangelistic work; in connection with open-air preaching, Exeter Hall services, services in theatres, and so forth. No man, not a hopelessly impracticable bigot for the exclusive efficacies of local colour and æstheticism in religion, will incline to find fault with these novelties, and their hope of bringing home the realities of Gospel teaching to a scum of population so peculiar as that which drifts about the back-slums of London. They were the only means available of bringing that teaching home to them. And, though they were a stumblingblock to many good men who could not see their way to countenancing good work unless it could be done in Churches, and as by law provided, we cannot doubt, that in them righteousness and wisdom were of their outcome fulfilled. Tait persevered with them in the teeth of much opposition, open and veiled. Because of them he did not neglect the business of Church-building and parish extension in the fastgrowing metropolis that was initiated by his predecessor, Bishop Blomfield. But he had a wholesome distrust of 'overmuch machinery,' and objected to more time being spent in discussing, arranging, and systematising the work of a Foundation, than in doing it. Wherefore he preferred temporary makeshifts to nothing at all, and apathetic, too contented waiting on Providence for eleemosynary intervention, Aide

toi, et Dieu t'aidera seemed to him properer compass to steer by. Before he had been a month in office, he presided at a great meeting held in Islington to launch a scheme for building twelve new Churches at a cost of £50,000. It is noted that his speech on the occasion induced vigorous, and in

some quarters, unfriendly comment.

Not a few of his friends were scandalised at "the Bishop's undignified and almost Methodist proceedings" during the first few weeks of his episcopate. In February 1860, under the colourless title Essays and Reviews, was published a book that created a great sensation, and stirred and provoked the Evangelical wing of the Church militants to fury. Tait's biographers seek to justify his behaviour with respect to this scandal and the correspondence arising out of it. We are unable to consider it other than shifty and disingenuous. Arthur Stanley commences a letter to him (February 19th, 1861,) on the subject:-" My dear Bishop,-Thanks for your letter. The typographical correction makes grammar, where before there was none, but unfortunately makes the sense (at least till the world is allowed to see the specification of the opinions thus denounced) worse than before." Dr. Temple's view of the Bishop's proceedings was expressed in his letter of 3rd March

1861, which we have already quoted in full.

In short, in this affair, Tait made a lamentable display of the old Adam of proneness to be all things to all men. Close on the heels of the Essays and Reviews' scandal, the first part of Bishop Colenso's book on the Pentateuch appeared, in which, as the Bishop of Labuan put it, his brother of Natal says, in short, that he can believe a miracle, but cannot believe in a bad sum and false arithmetical statements, and so he falls foul of the book of Numbers especially, and points out what he conceives to be no end of numerical mis-statements as regards the numbers of the people at the Exodus, the number of priests, the impossibility of their making the journey to the Red Sea in the time stated, &c. &c. A worse heresy was contained in the Preface to the book. In which a Bishop of the Church of England who had subscribed its 39 Articles, proclaimed, as a general result of his study of the Pentateuch, his conviction that the early books of the Bible were so 'unhistorical' that he could no longer use the Ordination Service of the Church of England, in which the truth of the Bible is assumed. Yet he did not feel called upon to resign his office in the Church of England! Logical outcomes are evidently not necessary sequences of an arithmetical turn of mind, when disassociated from slate and pencil.

Part of Bishop Tait's primary charge to his clergy was construed as intended to shield such a case as Colenso's. The meaning of Tait's words was always being misunderstood; as must happen, perhaps, with most men who can go on speaking fluently for hours together on any given subject without notes.

A'propos of Colenso's book, Dr. Lightfoot wrote, in a letter, deprecating its publication: "I feel very strongly, however, that it is a warning against overmuch caution in handling such subjects, for a more frank and liberal treatment of the difficulties of the Old Testament, if it had been general, would have drawn the sting of Bishop Colenso's criticism, even if it had not rendered the publication altogether impossible." In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, re Dr. Colenso's refusal to vacate his See, and the impasse thereby created, Tait compromises, as usual:—

"My opinion is that at present the wisest course would have been for each Bishop to deal with the existing scandal according to his own discretion, having regard to the circumstances of his own diocese, though I should have been ready also, had it appeared well to my brethren, to adopt and publish such a united resolution as that proposed by the Bishop of Winchester, to the purport that, having regard to the judicial character of several of their body, the Bishops, while deeply deploring the Bishop of Natal's conduct, felt precluded, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, from pronouncing, at this stage of the proceedings, an opinion which could be construed into a sentence.

Bishop Wilberforce had more of the courage of his convictions. Speaking in the Upper House of Convocation:—

"It seems to me," he said, "that one means by which we can bear our witness against error is by setting solemnly the mark of this body, meeting synodically, upon such erroneous teaching by one of ourselves, and declaring that it is, in our judgment, false and dangerous."

Bishop Gray, of Capetown, had the courage of his convictions, too, and, pronouncing sentence of deposition and excommunication on his suffragan, sought to enforce it.† The result of an appeal from this sentence to the Privy Council was, that Bishop Gray's own Letters Patent, formally given him by the Crown in 1853, were declared to convey no such coercive jurisdiction as they professed to convey, and to be practically worthless. As a crowning mercy, Mr. Keble extolled Bishop Gray's Charge, anathematising the heretic of Natal, as looking "like a fragment of the fourth century, recovered for the use of the nineteenth."

"In the meantime Bishop Colenso had brought an action at law to secure the continuance of the income hitherto paid to him as Bishop

Chronicle of Convocation, May 19th, 1863, p. 1164.

^{† &}quot;In a charge delivered in the Cathedral of the Diocese of Natal, he had come," he said, to "a widowed diocese. The whole flock is without its pastor. The clergy without their guide, counsellor, friend. The Church without its ruler. The duty of my office compels me, sede vacante, to take charge of this diocese. I have come among you for the express purpose of doing so. During the vacancy the clergy will hold themselves responsible to me."—(Bishop Gray's Charge, p. 35.)

of Natal by the Council of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, and now withheld in consequence of his deposition. On November 6th, 1886. Lord Romilly (Master of the Rolls) gave judgment in Bishop Colenso's favour, and in the course of it controverted some parts of the legal decision given by Lord Westbury a year before as to the status of Colonial Churches and their Bishoprics. The prevailing confusion was thus worse confounded, and a fresh maze of complication was opened for the sorely tried but undaunted Metropolitan of Capetown, who arraigned the judgment, more suo, as 'a most imprudent judgment, artfully framed to crush out all life and liberty from our Churches." "0

Tait could not resist the temptation of having a finger in this controversial fire, and, on Archbishop Longley's refusal to meddle with it, took it on himself to send a circular letter to all the Colonial Bishops and Clergy, requiring certain specific information on certain administrative points. Of course, nothing came, or could come, of this + officiousness (except a free and easy Lambeth Conference of Pan-Anglican Bishops "including old Vermont, the presiding Bishop, a jolly old man with white beard and wideawake hat.") Nothing came of the circular save that it provoked the ire of the indomitable African Metropolitan, who wrote to a friend:—

"The Bishop of London has been very impertinently addressing not only all Colonial Bishops, but their clergy on questions at issue. He will get well snubbed, for the clergy are very indignant, and say that they should have been addressed by the Archbishop through their own Bishops. I have sent copies of my replies to him, to the Archbishops and to S. Oxon., and have written, in the name of the Synod of the Church, fully and formally to Lord Carnarvon. "I

Tait had been indebted to the Whigs for his earlier preferments: it was by the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli that he was elevated to the Primacy. Disraeli's letter offering him the appointment was sent a few days before the General Elec-

Bishop Gray's Life, Vol. ii., p. 306.

I like the Bishop of Illinois, and though certainly it appeared to me that he was too fluent, I do not know that I should have thought more of his wordiness if our American brethren had not spoken of it as they did, telling the story of a great speech which is made in their Convention. The speech ended, the Bishop retired, and in the room in which several were spending the evening was a new Dictionary. 'What is it?' 'You will see on the title-page that it professes to contain 4,000 new words.' Let us begin by returning thanks that our brother of Illions had not seen it, or he would

‡ Bishop Gray's Life, Vol. ii, p. 316.

[†] Extract from Archbishop Tait's Diary, 24th September. 1867:—"The sermon by the Bishop of Illinois was wordy, but not devoid of a certain kind of impressiveness. The subject was not clear - we fill up what is behind in the sufferings of Christ.' The characteristics of the Episcopal work, θλιψείς. The Bishop of Oxford was very much afraid of ridicule attaching to us all if the sermon were published, as the hospitalities of the week were not very like afflictions. There certainly was an unreality in the sermon. The best part of it, one American Bishop pointed out, was a passage contrasting the world and the Church.

tion of November 1868, and when (5th January, 1869,) he went to Osborne to do homage to the Queen, Mr. Gladstone had already been a month in office, and Irish Church Disestablishment was in the forefront of the political questions of the day. On the 6th of May 1888, a monster meeting, under the Presidency of Archbishop Longley, was held at St. James's Hall, at which a strong resolution against the proposed disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland was moved by Bishop Tait. Six months afterwards, Archbishop Tait, loyally accepting the arbitration of the constituencies, as declared by the issue of the General Election, "declined thenceforward to stand in opposition to what was now the emphatic will of the nation, as declared by the almost unprecedented majority with which Mr. Gladstone had entered upon office in a Parliament chosen with direct reference to this very issue." Towards the close of the year in which he was inducted into his new dignity, the Archbishop was prostrated by a paralytic seizure, and for nine long months lay between life and death. He lived, and he did the work of his office, for twelve years more, but he was never again the man he had been, never so vigorous either mentally or physically. The pith of his life story is contained in the first volume of these memiors; in the second (with the exception of the Irish Church Disestablishment episode already noticed) there is not much that demands notice. Lambeth and Addington Park are—as compared with the multifarious clamours and contests and bustlings of the London See-by no means Castles of Indolence; but well deserved rest-houses rather, let us say. A Bishop of London must be an indefatigable hard worker: the Archbishop of Canterbury is not expected to be much more than an ornamental cornice in the structure of a State Church. Archbishop Tait was at San Remo, recruiting his health when, in 1870, agitation against the Athanasian creed waxed hot. From San Remo he wrote to the Bishop of London approving some amendment of the Rubric regulating its use, and then the matter drifted out of the range of practicalities. He expressed disapproval of the use of the confessional, whether for sisterhoods or others. He gave his support to the Public Worship Regulation Bill. He made speeches in the House of Lords on various subjects. He personally conducted an excursive and voluminous correspondence. All the routine duties of his office he duly performed. But the real work of his life was over when he left London. On the morning of Advent Sunday, 1882, he passed away peacefully and painlessly to his Eternal rest, Ætat 71. It was for him: Senectus ipsa est morbus.

ART. VIII.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN ANTIQUARIANS.

No. II.

PANDIT BHAGWA'NLA'L INDRAJI, Ph.D., Hon.M.R.A.S.
HIS BIRTH AND EARLY TRAINING.

I) ANDIT BHAGWA'NLA'L INDRAJI was born on the 7th November 1839, at Junágadh, in Kattiawar, in the Western Presidency. His father, Indraji, had three sons, of whom Bhagwanlal was the youngest. Among the numerous Hindu tribes and castes which are to be found in Western India, the Nágar Bráhmans form an important class. These Bráhmans are again subdivided into six sub-classes, one of which goes by the name of Prasnorá Nágar Bráhmans, and to this last subclass Bhagwánlál belonged. These Prasnorá Bráhmans, like the Kathaks of Bengal, earn their livelihood by reciting the epic poems, such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, by chanting Vedic hymns, and also by the reading and the exposition of the Shastras. At that time English education had not spread to such an extent as it has done at the present day, and, consequently, there was then no school in Junagadh where he could learn the English language. Under these circumstances, the only education which he received, was what the vernacular school of his native town afforded.

It has been said that, of all institutions for education, home is the best, and it was in this last-mentioned school that Bhagwánlál mastered, under the direct supervision of his father, the Sanscrit language and literature, the knowledge of which stood him in such good stead long afterwards, when he was prosecuting his archæological researches. Besides having studied Gujaráthí in the Vernacular School, Bhagwanlal also studied the indigenous system of medicine with his father. However, his ignorance of the English tongue hampered him much in after life, when he applied himself to the prosecution of his studies in Indian Archæology, almost all the knowledge extant then, as now, of ancient Indian inscriptions, coins, sculptures and other antiquities being expressed in the English language and contained in essays published in the Journals of the various Oriental Societies in this country and abroad. Hence he could not peruse these contributions to the elucidation of his favourite subject in the original, but only through the medium of translations. After he had entered the service of Dr. Bháu Dáji, that gentleman often translated them for him; but, after Dr. Bháu's death, he experienced great difficulty in procuring trustworthy

and faithful translations. Especially when, after Dr. Bháu's death, Bhagwánlál began to write on archæological subjects on his own account, he felt this difficulty all the more, as English is the only vehicle for the interchange of ideas on scientific and literary subjects, not merely between scholars, of different parts of India, but also between those of India and of Europe and English, moreover, is fast becoming, in this country, the language by which the various races inhabiting it can communicate with each other. As a matter of convenience, all contributions to Oriental Archæology, Literature and History are published in English. Being ignorant of that language, Bhagwanlal could neither read them in the original, nor express his own views on them in the same language. Had it not been for the assistance rendered him by his master, Dr. Bháu Dáji, and, after his death, by Drs. Bühler, Codrington, Burgess, Peterson, Gerson da Cunha, J. M. Campbell and others, his merits as an Archæologist of the first order would have remained unknown to the world at large.

When, in after life, his reputation as a scholar travelled to the remotest parts of the civilised world, and when savants of foreign countries began to correspond with him, Bhagwanlal's sense of his inability to correspond with them in English, which they understood, became simply galling to his spirit. The only savant with whom he could correspond in his native tongue—Gujaráthí -was Dr. Bühler, and, in corresponding with others, he was assisted by his friends, Drs. Bühler and Codrington, who frequently helped him in translating his writings in Gujaráthí into English. Somewhat late in life, Bhagwanlal applied himself to the learning of the latter language, and so assiduously did he labour at it, that, it is said, he acquired a tolerably fair smattering of it, so as to be able to read and understand ordinary English. In spite of these difficulties, he so thoroughly mastered the different points of the views of foreign savants on archæological subjects, published in English, that he could explain to what extent he considered them correct, and on what points he differed from them.

How he came to be an Archæologist.

In the neighbourhood of his native town of Junágadh are the Girnar Hills, famous for the rock-inscriptions inscribed on them, among which are the far-famed Edicts of Asoka and of some of the scions of the Sauráshtrian (Sáh) and Gupta Dynasties. During his childhood, Bhagwanlal had visited these hills, and had been perplexed by these writings in mysterious He was at a loss to understand how they came to be written there, and still more so when he found that they were written in cave-characters (Old Pali alphabet), of which he was ignorant. He felt a strange longing to fathom the secrets locked in these mysterious characters, a longing which

grew with the growth of his years, and ultimately, through a

strange combination of circumstances, was fulfilled.

Fortunately there was at that time a European gentleman in Kattiawar-Colonel Lang, by name-the Political Agent of the place—who had a taste for archæological pursuits, and took much interest in epigraphic studies-especially in those connected with Girnar. This gentleman presented Mr. Manishankar Jatáshankar-an educated native gentleman of the placewith a pamphlet containing Prinsep's paper on the Indian Pali Alphabet, reprinted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April 1838. It contained the results of his researches in connection with the decipherment of the Old Pali alphabet, and set forth how, by a comparison of the then unknown Pali symbols with the characters of the Devnāgri alphabet, and then by a comparison of them with the Gupta alphabet, the writer came to discover the phonetic value of these characters, and subsequently verified his discovery by deciphering with this key the inscriptions on the pillars of Allahabad, Delhi, Radhiah, Mathiah, on the rocks of Girnar and Dhauli. in the caves of Barabar, Junir and Khandgiri, and on the Buddhist coins.

Bhagwanlal obtained the loan of this paper from the lastmentioned gentleman, and took two tracings of the alphabet on oiled paper, inking all the letters. I will quote his own words describing how he mastered these difficult characters: "Subsequently I inked all the letters on the tracing which made them more legible. Trying to read the Rudra Dâmâ inscription by its means, I failed, for I found many compound letters and mátrás on it. After despairing of success, I wrote to a friend in Bombay asking him to buy for me and send me copies of the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and of its Bombay Branch, containing articles on Girnar rock-inscriptions, which were accordingly sent to me. The receipt of these Journals gave a new stimulus to my studies. What I did to thoroughly master the old cave-characters was, to write out from the printed inscriptions a line in old characters and its transcript in Sanscrit below each letter. Thus I mastered the various forms of the Old Pali alphabet of different periods."

HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH DR. BHA'U DA'JI AND HIS ARRIVAL IN BOMBAY.

While Bhagwanlal was prosecuting his study of the Pali alphabet, Mr. A. K. Forbes succeeded Colonel Lang in the post of Political Agent of Kattiawar, and, being favourably impressed with the young Brahman's archæological tastes, introduced him to Dr. Bhau Daji, who, in October 1861, invited him to come to Bombay.

Bhagwanlal knew that Dr. Bhau's tastes were of the same kind as his own, and, seeing that he would be able to make much progress in the company of that scholar, gladly accepted his invitation and came over to Bombay, bringing with him a valuable collection of 60 Sauráshtrian, or Sáh, coins. After his arrival in Bombay, Dr. Bháu Dáji introduced Bhagwanlal to Mr. Justice Newton, of the Bombay Supreme Court-an accomplished numismatist of his day, and the then President of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society-who was at that time engaged in the preparation of his famous monograph on the Kshatrap, or Sáh, Dynasty. Mr. Newton was much pleased with Bhagwán for his collection of coins, which included unique specimens, bearing the legends of Jaya Dâmâ, Swami Chashtan and Nahapana, and which aided him much in the elaboration of his essay. At the same time Bhagwanlal made over to Dr. Bháu Dáji the correct transcripts he had made of the Rudra Dâmâ and Skandagupta inscriptions from the Girnar hills, and urged on him the necessity of carefully re-editing the Mauryan, Sáh and Gupta inscriptions from that locality, Being convinced of the importance of Bhagwanlal's suggestion. Dr. Bháu deputed him to Junágadh, where he took faithful fac-similes on paper and cloth of the Rudra Dâmâ and Skandagupta inscriptions, and sent them to the Doctor. The latter was much pleased with the accuracy of the young Bráhman's work, and utilised his labours by reading a paper thereon before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on 14th August 1862. He further decided upon taking him into his own service. He accordingly made the proposal to the young Brahman and invited him to come to Bombay, telling him at the same time that, should he agree to it, he would assist him much in the prosecution of his favourite studies. Bhagwanlal agreed to the terms proposed, and came to Bombay on the 24th April 1862. Dr. Bháu received him with open arms, and offered him quarters within the compound of his own house, treating him, not as his servant, but as his colleague in the arduous work of exploring the ancient remains of this country, while Bhagwanlal revered his patron almost to veneration.

In this literary firm, the strictly literary portion of the business was performed by Dr. Bháu Dáji, who went through the whole literature of Indian Archæology, while the young and indomitable Bhagwánlál did the practical part of the work, that is, of exploring the various archæological remains in different parts of the country, such as caves, monasteries, sites of old towns, ruins, rock-cut temples, and the like. In April 1863, Bhagwánlál was deputed by Dr. Bháu to the rock-cut caves

vol. xcv.]

at Ajanta, for the purpose of copying the inscriptions which he had begun to collect. As a result of this expedition, Bhagwan returned to Bombay in June with 23 inscriptions from the caves, on which Dr. Bhau read a paper before the Bombay Society on the 10th July 1863.

BHAGWA'NLA'L'S JOURNEYS TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA.

Bhagwanlal staid in Bombay throughout the rainy season of 1863, and spent his time in transcribing and copying various inscriptions from the caves at Nasik, Karli, Bhájá, Bhendar, Junnar, Pitalkhori, and Náneghât. Before starting on his tour through India, in December 1863, Dr. Bháu Dáji had, on the recommendation of Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, made arrangements for deputing Pandits Bhagwanlal Indraji and Pandurang Gopal Padhyè to explore the Jain libraries, or bhândars, at Jesselmere, and to take copies of such MSS. therein as might be interesting from either their rarity, their novelty, or their importance. Agreeably to these arrangements, the two Pandits started on their exploratory tour in the winter of 1864, and went to Jesselmere, in Rajputana, vià Karachi and Scinde. They stayed at Jesselmere for three months, and spent the time in examining the bhandar there, and copying the MSS. But the library being situated in a dark, damp place, they had to do the copying work squatting upon their haunches on the bare damp ground. This brought on an attack of typhoid fever in the case of Bhagwanlal, who was laid up with it during the greater part of his three months' stay there. He somewhat recovered from his illness, however, in May 1864, and then returned to Bombay, passing through Deesa on the way.

In 1865, the year of the great financial crisis in Bombay, Bhagwan made up his mind to undertake an exploratory tour through the whole of India for the purpose of visiting the various ancient Hindu shrines and of personally inspecting the ancient stone, rock and pillar inscriptions to be found in various parts of the country. With a view to carrying out this project, he obtained a year's furlough from Dr. Bháu Dáji in 1868, and started on his tour through Upper India. First he went to Nágpur and Jabbalpur, and thence to Allahabad, where, with the sanction of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, he erected a scaffold round the Lát, or Column of Samudragupta, and made, in the course of five days, a careful copy of the inscription on cloth, by means of which Dr. Bháu Dáji was enabled to effect some corrections* in the historical part,especially as regards the names of the kings and countries

^{*} Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. IX. p. excvi f.

conquered by Samudragupta,—of Mr. James Prinsep's version

of the text and translation of that inscription.*

Having "done" Allahabad, Bhagwanlal went to Benares and Bhithari, where he copied and transcribed the inscription of the Gupta King, Skandagupta, on the so-called Bhithari Lát. He sent this hand-copy to Dr. Bhau Daji, who published, with its aid, a revised reading of the text and translation, and Pandit Bhagwanlal himself subsequently gave out this own reading and translation of the text thereof. From Bhithari he went to Mathura, where he carefully explored all the old temples, and other places of religious worship, and the ancient mounds, and copied many old inscriptions. From the neighbourhood of the Kankâli Tilâ mound in that city, Pandit Bhagwanlal carried off to Bombay "a large bell capital of a pillar, surmounted by an elephant and inscribed with the name of the Indo-Scythian King Huvishka, 18 B C." This is apparently the relic referred to by Major H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, in his Third Report, published in 1885, in the following words: "Capital of the Indo-Scythian Period, formerly at Mathura, was removed by Dr. Bháu Dáji to Bombay, and is now in the possession of his heir and should be recovered for the North-Western Provinces Museum." S Bhagwanlal made extensive purchases of Bactrian and Scythian coins and of other archæological curiosities at Mathura, and he returned to Bombay, bringing with him an extensive and valuable collection of numismatic and archæological curiosities, besides copies of 35 old inscriptions.

Through Dr. Bháu Dáji's efforts, the Junágadh Darbar promised to send, at its own expense, a second exploratory expedition to Upper India, and Bhagwánlál was again selected for the work. Agreeably to this arrangement, Bhagwánlál left Bombay on the 7th March 1871, taking with him influential passes and recommendations. At Dr. Bháu Dáji's instance, the Government of India issued a demi-official circular to the executive authorities of Mathura, Agra, Furrackabad, Allahabad, Ghazipore, Benares and Goruckpore, informing them of the Pandit's mission, and requesting them to offer him as much

* Jour. A. S. B., Vol. VI. (1837), p. 969ff. † Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. X. (1875), p. 59ff. ‡ Op. cit. Vol. XVI. (1885), p. 349ff.

[§] On the basis of this recommendation, the Committee of the Lucknow Provincial Museum entered into correspondence with the Director of Agriculture and Commerce and F S Growse, Esq., C. S., for the purpose of recovering this valuable relic from Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. But Mr. Growse's opinion was that it was not worth while for the Government of the North-West Provinces to interfere in the matter, and it was accordingly shelved.—Vide "The Minutes of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, 1883-1888," p. 79.

assistance as lay in their power, in the prosecution of his archælological researches, and to take care that he was not disturbed while engaged in these pursuits. Bhagwánlál's wife accompanied him on this tour, in the course of which he visited successively Khandwa, Omkareshwar, Indore, Ujjain, Bhojáwar, Bhilsá, Sánchi, Udayagiri, Benares, Allahabad, Delhi (where he copied on cloth King Chandra's inscription on the so-called "Iron Pillar"), Mathura, Agra, Kalsi. From Agra he went to Gwalior, where his wife's illness took a serious turn; he had to bring this tour to an abrupt termination, and returned to Bom-

bay, through Allahabad, in March 1872.

On his return, Bhagwanlal placed his wife under the treatment of Dr. Bháu Dáji, through whose fostering care she completely recovered in the course of a few weeks. After this Bhagwanlal, who was now thoroughly imbued with the spirit of research, made up his mind to revisit Northern India, and he started again in December, 1873. The expenses of this tour also were borne by the Junágadh Darbar. But, after starting, Bhagwanlal changed his original intention, and suddenly took it into his head to visit Nepal and the countries bordering on it. He accordingly turned his footsteps towards that country, where he carefully examined all the old temples round about Khatmandu, and copied and transcribed many old inscriptions; and it is said that he also visited the Yusufzai country and Beluchistan. After his return from Nepal, he heard that his master Bháu Dáji was lying dangerously ill of an attack of paralysis which terminated fatally on the 29th May 1874. Bhagwanlal was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his "guide, philosopher and friend," and he thought that the best tribute of respect which he could pay to the memory of the deceased scholar was to follow in his footsteps and to continue the work he had begun and which had borne such good fruits. After his master's death, accordingly, he began to write on archaeological subjects and to publish them, in the form of translations, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which is embalmed the very essence of his master's lifework. He also began to contribute articles on the same subjects to the Indian Antiquary.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Bhagwanlal was a Hindu of the most orthodox type. During his travels he conformed, as far as practicable, to Hindu customs and usages. He was so strict as regards articles of diet, that, while in Nepal, he used to partake of toordal (Cajanus indicus—an article of diet which he used to take in his native country. His habits were simple; his demeanour was most humble; and his life was purity itself. One who saw him could

scarcely believe that there was such a "soul of goodness" concealed beneath such an unpretentious-looking body. "He had very high ideas of the greatness of the human mind and of the righteousness of man's soul. On no mind perhaps had the force of example told more deeply. In short, he combined in himself the mildness and urbanity of a Hindu, with the steadiness, patience and inquisitive spirit of a German, the ceaseless activity and energy of an Englishman, and the sereneness and contemplative turn of mind of a Jain Tirthankar." He was charitably disposed towards the needy and the poor, and was himself content with little. He was free from avarice and did not care at all for amassing money. The knowledge of native medicines, which he had learnt from his father in his earlier years, was of great use to him in his mission of charity. Like his master, Bháu Dáji, he also used to see a goodly number of patients in the morning at his house in Walkeshwar—and distributed medicines. He formed his ideal of a perfectly good man and of a sound scholar from a careful observation of whatever was good and great in the character of Dr. Bháu, and from a hearty appreciation of the learned Doctor's love of knowledge, not as a means to an end, but for its own sake.

Bhagwánlál was slow, but accurate, in his researches. Whenever he hit upon any novel fact, he kept it to himself and did not give it out till he had verified it. Thus many of the theories propounded by the Pandit, though they appeared bold at first sight, turned out in the end to be correct. He was patient and plodding and never formed his opinions till after having given the matter in hand the most mature deliberation. Notwithstanding the many drawbacks under which he laboured, he won his way to distinction as a first-rate antiquarian by his indomitable energy, his sheer courage, and the most enthusiastic devotion to science. He was a ripe Sanscrit and Canarese scholar, and delivered an address of welcome in the former language on the occasion of the visit of Signor A. de Gubernatis, the Italian Orientalist, to a meeting of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

HIS DISCOVERIES.

The most important discovery made by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was that of the ancient Nágrí Numerals from the examination of an inscription at Náneghât. He embodied this discovery in his paper entitled: "On Ancient Nagri numeration: from an Inscription at Naneghât"+ in which he announced that the old Nágrí Numerals are aksharas, or syllables, and that they are expressed on the Kshatrap, Valabhi and

[†] Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 404, also Indian Antiquas VI., p 42 f.

Gupta incriptions and coins. From very remote times, in India. the practice of denoting numbers by means of letters has been prevalent. Goldstücker, in his Pánini, p 53, draws attention to the fact that numbers are denoted by the letters of the alphabet in their order (i=2), and that, according to the Bháshya, this method of numeration is peculiar to Pánini and occurs in his famous grammar only, and exactly resembles the Semitic method of notation of numerals by the Abjad system and the Greek method by letters of the alphabet. Again, the Indian astronomer A'ryabhata, in his work entitled Aryáshtasata, teaches us a quite peculiar numerical method of notation by means of letters. With respect to Pandit Bhagwanlal's discovery, Professor Weber observes: "The explanation of the Indian figures from the initial letters of the numerals has recently been rudely shaken, -see Bühler in Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI. p. 48,—through the deciphering, namely, of the ancient 'Nágrí Numerals' by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, ibid, p. 42 ff. These, it appears, turn out to be other letters, yet the derivation of the later figures from them can hardly be called in question. What principle underlies these ancient numerals is, for the rest, still obscure: the zero has not yet a place among them; there are letter symbols for 4-10 (1-3 being merely represented by strokes) for the tens up to 90, and for the hundreds up to 1,000."*

His next discovery is in connection with an inscription † from the Kanheri caves. By decipherment of that record he brought to light the name of Madhariputra, a new king of the Andhrabhritya Dynasty of Southern India, who had hitherto been unknown to history. In the Vishnu Purana occur the names of the first two kings of this dynasty, viz., Gotamiputra, otherwise known as Yadna Sri, and Vasishthiputra, alias Padumavi, or Pulumayi, and there was another king named Sirisena. Pandit Bhagwanlal identified Sirisena with Madhariputra of the Kanheri Cave-inscription, and inferred, from the fact of Gotamiputra and Vasishthiputra being named after their respective mothers Gotami and Vasishthi, that the new king, Madhariputra, was named after his mother, Madhari.

In his paper on the "Coins of the Andhrabhritya Kings of Southern India" (Vol XIII., p 303), he subjected the leaden currency of these kings, which had, from time to time, been discovered in various parts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, to a careful examination, and classified them according to the kings by whom they had been respectively issued. From a decipherment of the legends thereon, he

Weber's History of Indian Literature, edition: 1878, p. 324.

† A new Andhrabhritya King, from a Kanheri Cave-inscription."

—Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol XII., p. 407.

drew up the following genealogy of the dynasty and the order of their succession:

1. Gotamiputra I.

2. Vasishthiputra.

3. Madhariputra.

4. Gotamiputra II.

This paper on the Coins of the Andhrabhritya Dynasty still remains the standard anthority on the subject. In connection with these, his researches into numismatics, it will not be out of place to allude to his study of a peculiar class of coins known as the "Gadhiya ka paisa." He embodied the results of his investigation into them in his paper on the "Gadhia Coins of Gujarát and Malwa." * He traced the name Gadhia to the Sanscrit word "Gardhabhiya," meaning "of the Gardhabhi Dynasty," and assigned them to a dynasty of Indo-Sassanian kings who succeeded the Vallabhi rulers of Gujarát, and who reigned over a great tract of country in Western India. He is of opinion that these kings imitated the currency of the Indo-Greek rulers of Bactriana, and has attempted to support this theory by an explanation of the way in which the human face and the fire altar appearing on the obverses and the reverses of the Indo-Bactrian coins have grown fine by degrees and beautifully less, till they are now represented by mere dots and lines on the so-called Gadhia coins. Bhagwánlál's monograph till lately remained the standard authority on the subject, but recently the study of them has again been taken up by another investigator, Mr. E. Leggett, of Kurachee. †

His third great discovery is that of the edicts of Asoka and other Buddhist relics, in April, 1882, at Padana and Sopárá (near Bassein), the Oupara of the Greek geographers and Suparáká of the Mahabharata. He was greatly assisted in this work by Mr. J. M. Campbell, of the Bombay Civil Service. The "find" of these relics created a great stir, not only among the Orientalists of Europe and India, but also among the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Jains of Bombay. In this place he discovered not only a relic-casket containing fragments of the veritable bowl of Buddha, but also numerous beautifully-carved statues of the Great Master in various attitudes, gold flowers and beads, also coins of the Andhrabhritya Dynasty, fragments of Asoka's edicts, inscriptions from the Vakala or Brahmatekdi Tank there, and of several sculptures from near the Chukreswar Temple. All these he has fully described and illustrated with numerous beautiful plates in his elaborate essay on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopárá and Padana" Had not death overtaken him in 1888, he

Jour. Bom Br. R. A. S. Vol. XII., p. 325.

[†] Vide Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1884, p. 61.

would have followed up this great discovery, as he had intended to do, by the exploration of similar mounds in the forest to the south of Girnar Hill. With respect to this, his colleague, Mr. J. M. Campbell, writes: * "Remembering the kind interest you took nearly ten years ago in the discovery by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal and myself of Buddhist relics in a mound at Sopárá near Bassein, I venture to offer you some account of the recent opening of a Buddhist mound in the forest to the south of Girnar hill, about six miles south-east of the city of Junagadh in Kattiawar. Our labour and success at Sopárá brightened in Pandit Bhagwánlál's mind the memory of the old brick mound he had seen as a lad among the Girnar hills. He remembered neither its site, nor its name. But he felt, if we went there together, we might find the mound. Leave-difficulties and the Pandit's too early death prevented our carrying out the plan for a Girnar relic hunt."

His next important researches were in connection with the fifteen inscriptions from Nepal which he had collected during his tour in that country from the temples in Khatmandu and its vicinity, and which he brought to the notice of Orientalists for the first time in the pages of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p 163ff. These enabled Pandit Bhagwánlál to fix the chronology of the early rulers of Nepal and to construct the history of that country about that period. The historical results of these investigations he subsequently discussed at great length in his paper on "Some Considerations on the History of Nepal," published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII., p. 411ff. The net outcome of this discussion is that the inscriptions collected by him, together with four others subsequently collected by Mr. Cecil Bendall, of the British Museum, in the same region, amply testify to the existence of a double Government in Nepal, viz., the Lichchhavikula or Suryavainsi family (A.D. 330-754), issuing its charters from the palace of Managriha and using the Gupta Era; and the Thâkuri family (A.D. 635-758) issuing its charters from the palace at Kailâsakutabhavana and using the Harsha Era. Lichchhavis reigned over the territory to the east of Khatmandu, and the Thâkuris over the territories to the west of it. Bhagwanlal's researches rescued from oblivion the names of eighteen sovereigns of the Lichchhavi Dynasty, viz., (1) Jayadeva I., (2-12) unknown, (13) Vrishadeva, whose contemporary was Sivadeva I., (14: Sankaradeva, contemporary with Dhruvadeva, (15) Dharmadeva, (16) Mânadeva, (17) Mahideva, 18 Vasantasena or Vasantadeva; and names of six sovereigns of the Thâkuri Dynasty, viz., (1) Amsuvarman, (2) Jishnugupta, (3)

Trübner's Record for March 1889, p. 5.

Udayadeva, (4) Narendradeva, (5) Sivadeva II., and (6) Jayadeva II. These inscriptions from Nepal were subsequently republished from the Indian Antiquary under the auspices of the Government of Bombay, under the title of "Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal, collected at the expense of H. H. the Nawab of Junagadh. Edited under the patronage of the Government of Bombay, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Ph. D. &c. Together with some considerations on the chronology of Nepal, translated from Gujráti by Dr. G. Bühler, CI.E." The text of this work was printed at the Bombay Education Society's Press and its value is further enhanced by the addition to it of facsimiles of the older inscriptions executed by Mr. W. Griggs With respect to the historical results of Bhagof Peckham. wanlal's researches into Nepal inscriptions, Mr. J. F. Fleet. of the Bombay Civil Service, observes: * "His results, however, are unfortunately vitiated by a radical error, viz., the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama Era, instead of to the Gupta Era, nearly four hundred years later. This was due partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadeva II. of Harsh-Samvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Samvat 316. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued, that Mr. Bendall's date of 316, for Sivadeva I, and Amsuvarman, stands alone in belonging to the Gupta Era, and that, in spite of it, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama Era."

Pandit Bhagwánlál was an accurate epigraphist. His readings of the text of some stone and copper plate inscriptions remain standard authorities thereon up to the present day. The amount of work done by the Pandit in this department of archæological research is extensive. I will mention only some of it: From the beginning of the ninth century to the end of the twelfth of the Christian Era, there reigned a dynasty of kings in different parts of Western India, known as the Siláhára Dynasty. The epithet of "the Lords of Tagarapura" is frequently applied to the scions of this dynasty. It would appear therefrom that the city of Tagara was the original capital of the kings of all the branches of this dynasty. Some antiquarians have identified Tagara with Daulatabad of the present day, but Bhagwanlal thinks it to be identical with the modern Junnar. From an examination of 16 different inscriptions of this dynasty, Pandit Bhagwanlal

^{*} Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum-Vol. III. The Gupta Inscriptions, Appendix IV, p. 177.

come to the conclusion that there were three different branches of it, all of which reigned in different places at about the same period, and he has constructed the genealogical trees of each branch. The first branch, according to him, began with King Kapardi I. and declined in the reign of King Chhittarájá: this branch flourished from circa 813 A.D. to circa 1026 A.D. The second branch commenced with Jhalla Phulla and ended with Rahu. The seat of government of this branch must have been some where in the Southern Konkan. The scions of this dynasty at first owned allegiance to the kings of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty, and, after their subjugation by the Chalukya kings, to the latter. This branch must have flourished from circa 808 A.D. to circa 1008 A.D. The third branch must have had its seat of government at Panhalagadh, near Kolhapur. The first king of this branch was Jatiga and the last Bhojadeva II., and it must have flourished

from circa 918 A.D. to circa 1191 A.D.

Pandit Bhagwanlal subsequently discovered, from two new Râshtrakuta copper plate grants, published by himself, two new branches of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty. The first plate came from the late Dr. Bháu Dáji's collection and recorded a grant by a Râshtrakuta king named Abhimanyu. The genealogy given in this plate shows that the kings mentioned in it either were ancestors of the Rashtrakuta kings of Manyakheta, or belonged to some hitherto unknown branch of that dynasty. But it is so far certain, that these kings reigned earlier than the Rashtrakutas of Manyakhet. The second plate was discovered in digging the foundation of a building in a village named Antroli-Chhâroli, near Surat. It records a grant by King Kakka, and the kings mentioned in it have the same names as some of those of the already well-known Rashtrakuta Dynasty, but they cannot be made to fit into the published genealogy of that line. Most probably the kings of this plate constituted a separate Gujarát branch of the dynasty, earlier than the hitherto known Gujarát branch founded by Indra III. He had, before this, published a new copper plate grant of the Chalukya Dynasty, which is in the possession of a Parsi gentleman at Navsari. It records a grant by Silâditya Yuvarájá, son of Jayasinhavarman and grandson of Pulakesi II. From a careful study of the genealogy given in this plate and that given in another Chalukya copperplate in the possession of a Parsí gentleman at Balsar, he came to the conclusion that Jayasimhavarman, the second son of the famous Chalukyan monarch, Pulakesi II., may have had two sons: Siláditya Yuvarájá of the Nowsari grant and Mangalarájá of the Balsâr grant, and that Silâditya may have died, while heir-apparent, before Mangalarájá came to the throne, or Silâditya may have been dethroned

by Mangalarájá in order to make room for him.

He next published a copperplate grant discovered in digging a tank at Pardi village, 50 miles south of Surat. It records a grant by King Dahrasena of the Traikutaka Dynasty. Reading this plate in conjunction with Dr. Bird's Kanheri plate, described in the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Separate Series, No. 10. p. 57ff, Pandit Bhagwanlal proved the existence of a Traikutaka Dynasty, and that King Dahrasena must have been a great and powerful monarch, for he performed the Aswamedha sacrifice. In the Indian Antiquary for March, 1887, he published his reading of the text, with a translation, of the Sirpur copperplate grant of the Maharájá Rudradása, and in the same journal for March, 1884, a new copperplate grant of the Gurjjara dynasty. In 1879, Pandit Bhagwanlal published, for the first time, his reading of the text of the copperplates which were discovered near Ilichpur, in East Berar, known as the Chammak Copperplate Inscription.* They were obtained by Captain (now Major) Szezepanski and forwarded by him for report to Dr. John Wilson of Bombay, who exhibited them at a meeting of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. They record a grant by Maharájá Pravasena II. of the Vâkâtaka Dynasty. In 1885, he published his own reading of the text+, with translation, of the Mankuwar Inscription of the early Gupta King Kumaragupta, which occurs on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwar, a small village in the Allahabad district of the North-Western Provinces." § In 1881 he published, in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X., p. 125ff, his revised reading of the text, with translation, of the inscription of the early Gupta King Skandagupta, occurring on a grey sandstone column in the village of Kahaum in the Gorakhpur district of the North-Western Provinces. In 1884 he published incidentally, in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII., p. 428, note 55, his own reading of the text of the inscription of the Mankhari chieftain, Anantavarman, occurring on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock over the entrance to the "Lomasa Rishi Cave," in the Barâbar Hill, to the north-east of Gaya in Behar.

Besides himself deciphering and translating inscriptions, Pandit Bhagwanlal assisted others in the solution of difficult archæological questions. Mr. Fleet, in his Gupta Inscriptions,

§ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 45.

^{*} Vide Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, p. 54ff. Also Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 235.

[†] Vide Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. lxi. 1 Vide Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 354.

Vol. III., p. 31, of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, tells us that it was Pandit Bhagwanlal who first pointed out to him that "Kakanada (lit, the noise of the crow) is the ancient name of Sanchi itself. This is shown by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Asoka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji." General Cunningham, at page 79 of Vol. XVI of the Archæological Survey of India, published in 1883, tells us that Dr. Bhagwánlál Indraji, apparently in a letter to him, had pointed out that the name of Isanavarman should be substituted in line 7, for the Santavarman of Major Kittoe's transcript of the stone-inscription of king Adityasena from the village of Aphsad in the Nawadah Sub-division of the Gaya District in Behar. Pandit Bhagwanlal supplied General Cunningham with a reading of the text and a partial translation of the inscription of the Magadhi Gupta King Jivitagupta II., occurring on two contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village of Deo-Baranark in the Shahabad District of Behar. He also, to a certain extent, assisted Mr. Fleet in deciphering the inscription on the copper-seal of King Harshavardhana of Kanouj (A. D. 607), now in the possession of a native merchant in the town of Sonpat in the Delhi District in the Punjab.* The same gentleman was also assisted+ by him in the decipherment of the more pointedly damaged passages of the Sarnath Stone-inscription of Prakataditya, King of Kâsi or Benares.

In addition to the inscriptions mentioned above, Pandit Bhagwanlal has also published "Revised Facsimiles, Transcripts and Translations" of the following inscriptions: The inscription No. I is from the lintel on the north door of the hall of the Temple of Amarnath, which "is about 41/2 miles south-east of the town of Kalyan and about 33 miles north-east from Bombay, and which is one of the richest and most genuine examples of Hindu architecture in that Presidency, and is apparently as old as the 11th century." Plaster-of-Paris casts of this interesting record are included both in the archæological collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, § and also in the museum of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, located in the Town Hall of that city. This inscription was first published by Dr. Bháu Dáji, and Bhagwanlal subsequently published his own revised reading of the text and translation thereof. It is dated 982 Samvat, and mentions the names of two

⁺ Op cit., p. 284. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 231. † Vide Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 329.

[§] Anderson's Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II., p. 313.

| Vide Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 290.

kings, Chhittarájádeva and Mamvanirájádeva. From a comparison with Dr. Bühler's Bhandup grant, Pandit Bhagwanlal came to the conclusion that these two kings most probably were scions of the Silahara Dynasty-the latter being the successor of the former, flourishing in saka 982, or 1060 A. D. The inscription No. II, is contained on a stone which was found near Government House, Parel, Bombay, and now adorns the collection of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. It is 6'-9" long and 1'-5" in diameter, in the form of a pillar with one flat face, on which the inscription is cut. It was written in Saka 1109 (A. D. 1186) and records a grant by the great ruler of the Konkana, Aparaditya. There is nothing in the inscription from which it can be determined to what dynasty of kings the grantor belonged, but Pandit Bhagwanlal argues that, as, about the date recorded on this inscription, the Silâhâra Dynasty ruled over the Konkân, and as Aparáditya is described in it as the sovereign of the Konkana, he most probably belonged to that dynasty and is most probably the same Aparáditya of that line who wrote a commentary called Aparârka or the Hindu Law of Yajnavalkya.

HONOURS FROM LEARNED BODIES.

Pandit Bhagwánlál's contributions to the literature of Indian Archæology often announced important light-bringing discoveries and attracted a good deal of attention from the Orientalists of this country, as well as of Europe. In course of time Bhagwanlal came to be recognised as one of the leading exponents of Indian Archæological science both here and abroad, and his reputation gradually spread to the remotest parts of Europe. It was the great ambition of Bhagwanlal's life that his merits should meet with recognition from European savants, and subsequent events show that this longed-for recognition came at last, though slowly, from the learned bodies of this country and Europe. For his important researches Pandit Bhagwánlál was, in 1877, on the recommendation of Dr Codrington, elected an Honorary Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In January 1882, the Government of Bombay nominated him a Fellow of the University of Bombay. In October, 1883, the Board of the Royal Institute of Philology, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands-India at the Hague elected him one of their Foreign Members. In January 1884 the famous University of Leyden conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. or Doctor of Philosophy. At about the same time the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him one of their Honorary Members. Besides these marks of distinction showered upon him one after another, Pandit Bhagwanlal was invited to take part in the annual sessions of the International Congress of Orientalists, held in various towns of Europe. The Pandit responded to two, at least, of these invitations, namely, those from the Leyden International Oriental Congress, held in September 1883, where he read a paper on "The Háthigumphá and three other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves;" and from the Vienna International Oriental Congress, held in 1886, before which he read his dissertation on "Two New Chalukya Inscriptions."

HIS DEATH AND BEQUESTS.

Pandit Bhagwanlal had been ailing for a long time and at last dropsy set in. He succumbed to it on Friday, the 16th March, 1888, at his house in Walkeshwar. During his illness, he was visited by his many Native and European friends, among whom may be mentioned the names of the celebrated French Orientalist M. Emile Senart and Dr. Peterson and Mr. J. M. Campbell. His death was deeply regretted by a large circle of relatives and acquaintances, and was felt as a personal loss by many of the latter. He had, before his death, executed a will, by which he left instructions as to how he was to be cremated. He had himself performed all his own sradh ceremonies in anticipation of death, so that they were not to be gone through again after his death. He left instructions to the following effect: Just as the vital spark as about to flee from the body, a portion of the earth from the Ganges, which he had collected during his life time, was to be spread on the floor, and his body gently placed over it. Ganges water which he had also brought with him to Bombay, was then to be sprinkled over his body, and a few drops poured into his mouth. Then a white sheet, which he had provided during his lifetime, was to be wrapped round his body, leaving the After death the sheet was to be drawn over his face, but not again removed, Four friends were to carry him to the funeral-pyre, and no weeping was to be made for him. Only the name of God was to be repeated. After cremation was over, they were to return to his house, and, after sitting silently for some time there, they were to return to their respective homes. After that, tidings of his death was to be communicated, by letter, to his relatives in Kattiawar, requesting them, at the same time, not to weep for him. All these instructions were fulfilled to the letter by his executors. By his will he disposed of his moveable and immoveable properties in the following way: He bequeathed his valuable collection of MSS. of Nepalese Buddhist Literature, Jain MSS. and of a few other MSS. pertaining to the Brahman portion of the Vedic Literature, to the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He left his valuable collection

of the coins of the Sauráshtrian Dynasty of Western India to the number of some 700 specimens, which include several fine coins and several bearing the legends of four new kings, and his other collections of coins of the Andhrabhritya and and other Dynasties of Southern India and of many other miscellaneous old coins to the British Museum in London. To the same institution he bequeathed his collection of inscriptions, including the large bell-shaped pillar capital bearing a Bactro-Pali inscription, dated 18 B. C., of the Indo-Scythian King Huvishka, and of all his copper, brass and stone images, engravings and objects of antiquarian interest. He directed his valuable library of published works on Indian Archæology to be presented to the Native General Library at Bombay. He directed all other stone and copperplate inscriptions, which belonged to other persons, but were in his possession by way of loan, to be returned to their respective owners. As Pandit Bhagwanlal died childless and left no other heir to succeed to his property, he bequeathed his modest dwellinghouse at Walkeswar to the Cutchi Bhátia community, for the purpose of being used as a Sanitarium by such high caste Hindus as might choose to do so. This house had been built at the expense of, and presented to him by, his fellow-citizens of Joonaghur, as a mark of their appreciation of his scholarship and of their respect for his high qualities of head and heart.

After his death, Professor Peterson wrote an obituary notice of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the columns of the Academy. The Hon'ble Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik has published his personal reminiscences of that scholar and antiquarian. Professor DeGubernatis has, in his Peregrinazioni Indiane,* given a graphic account of his visit to Pandit Bhagwanlal in his house at Walkeshwar.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS.

Pandit Bhagwánlál has left behind him an extensive series of notes in Gujaráti of his various journeys through Upper India, of his visit to Beluchistan and the Yusufzai country, of his experiences in Nepal and of the discoveries he made in that country, of Buddhistic caves and of the inscriptions carved thereon. Many of these notes are in the shape of letters addressed to his friend Mr. Karsandás Vallabhdás, whom he subsequently appointed executor of his will. During his last illness, when he found that the day of dissolution was near, he dictated, to his above-named friend, his views on the history and chronology of the Kshatrap Kings of Sauráshtra, which he had

^{*} Peregrinazioni Indiane by A. DeGubernatis. Three volumes. Pubished by L. Niccolai, Firenze (Florence in Italy).

arrived at after mature deliberation and careful study of their inscriptions and coins, extending over a number of years, These are still unpublished. The Government of Bombay was publishing a series of the statistical and descriptive accounts of the different districts in the Bombay Presidency, under the title of "The Bombay Gazetteer." It had been intended that the first volume of the work should include early historical accounts of the chief divisions of that Presi-To Pandit Bhagwanlal was entrusted the task of drawing up the account of the early history of Gujarát. He was greatly assisted in this task by a young man named Ratirám Durgâram Dvivedi, B. A., possessed of a taste for archæological pursuits. With his collaboration, Pandit Bhagwanlal finished about three-fourths of the work, which is now in an advanced state for publication. The remainder of the work is said to be in the shape of notes in the Pandit's own handwriting, which are now in the possession of Mr. Karsandás Vallabhdás. His published writings may be classified under five heads: (1) General Archæology; (2) Epigraphy; (3) Numismatics; (4) History, and (5) Miscellaneous, Of the papers published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, all of which I have carefully gone through, that on the "Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padand" is a very elaborate and long one, and forms by itself a small treatise on that subject. His article on " The Coins of the Andhrabhritya Kings of Southern India" is also a long one. Of the papers published in the Indian Antiquary, that on the " Inscriptions from Nepal" is an elaborate essay, and was subsequently published in book form, under the auspices of the Government of Bombay, under the title of "Inscriptions from Nepal: By Bhagwanlal Indraji. Translated by Dr. George Bühler."

I.—GENERAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society)

1.—Antiquarian Remains at Sopárá and Padana. Vol. XV., p. 273.

2.—Exhibition of, and Remarks on, some Antique Brass Vessels dug up near Bombay, bearing Inscriptions in Hâla-Canarese Characters, Vol. XII., p. iii.

II .- EPIGRAPHY.

(a).—ROCK AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society)

I.-Revised Facsimile, Transcript and Translation of Inscriptions, Vol. XII., p. 329.

2.—On Ancient Nágri Numeration: from an Inscription at Nâneghát, Vol. XII., p. 404.

3.—Transcript and Translation of the Bhitá i Lát Inscription, Vol. XVI., p. 349. 4.-An Inscription of King Asokavalla, Vol. XVI., p. 357. 5.-Mankuwar Stone Image Inscription of Kumaragupta of the

year 129, Vol. XVI., p. 354.

(Indian Antiquary.)

6.—Ancient Nágri Numerals, with a Note by Dr. Bühler, Vol. VI., p. 42ff and 48.

7.-The Inscription of Rudra Dâmâ at Junágadh. 8.—Inscriptions from Nepal, Vol. IX., p. 163ff. 9—Inscription from Kam or Kamvan.

10.—The Inscriptions of Asoka.

11.-Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta of the year 141, Vol. X., p. 125.ff.

12.-An Inscription at Gaya, dated the year 1813, of Budhas Nirván, with two others of the same period.

13.—A Bactro-Pali Inscription of Siáhár.

14.—Barábar Hill Cave-inscription of Anantavarman, Vol. XIII., p. 428, note 55.

(Proceedings of the Leyden International Oriental Congress for 1883.)

15.—The Háthigumpha and three other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves hitherto known as the Inscription of King Aira.

(Proceedings of the Vienna International Oriental Congress for 1886.)

16 .- Two New Chalukya Inscriptions.

The following posthumous paper of Pandit Bhagwanlal was read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, and is referred to in that Society's Journal, Vol. XVII. (Proceedings) :-

17.- "Six Unpublished Vallabhi Inscriptions" by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (communicated by Dr. P. Peterson), Vol. XVII., Part II. (No. XLVII), p. iv (to be published in full in next number).

(b.)—COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

1.—Copperplate of the Siláhára Dynasty, Vol. XIII, p. 1.

2.- A new Copperplate Grant of the Chalukya found at Navsari, Vol. XVI., p. I.

(3 and 4).—New Copperplate Grants of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty, Vol. XVI, p. 88 and 105.

5.- A Copperplate Grant of the Traikutaka King Dahrasena, Vol. XVI., p. 346.

The following paper was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and is referred to in the Proceedings, but is not published in its Journal:-

6.—"On a Copperplate Grant found near Chiplun," Vol. XVI., p. xxiii.

(Indian Antiquary.)

7 .- Sirpur Copperplate Grant of the Maharaja Rudradasa, Vol. XVI. (March number for 1887).

8.— A new Gurjará Copperplate Grant, Vol. XIII. (March number for 1884).

(Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, being No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archaological Survey of Western India.)

9.-Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of the Maharaja Pravarasená II., p. 54ff.

VOL. XCV.

III.-NUMISMATICS.

(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

1.-Gadhia Coins of Gujarát and Malwa, Vol. XII., p. 325.

2.—Coins of the Andhrabhritya Kings of Southern India, Vol. XIII., p. 303.

IV.-HISTORY.

(Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

I.—A new Andhrabritya King: from an Inscription at Náneghât, Vol. XII., p. 407.

(Indian Antiquary.)

2.- The Shaiva Prakrama.

3.-A New Yádava Dynasty.

4.—Some Considerations on the History of Nepal, Vol. XIII. p. 411ff.
V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1.—Bombay Gazetteer (portions relating to Archæology in different volumes).

2.—Contributions to Dr. Burgess' Reports of the Archaelogical Survey of Western India:

(a) Deo-Baranârk Inscription of Jivitagupta II., Vol. XVI., pp. 68 and 73.

3.—Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, with descriptive notes. Edited by Dr. Burgess.

4.—Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal, by Bhagwanlal Indraji.
Translated by Dr. G. Bühler.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

Addenda and Corrigenda to "Biographical Sketches of Indian Antiquarians," No. I.

Dr. Bháu Dáji, G.G.M.C., Hon. M.R.A S., published in the Calcutta Review, No. CLXXXVIII. (April 1892), page 311:—

Addenda.

After line 34, in page 314 (His career), read :-

"On the 22nd December 1863, Dr. Bháu Dáji started from Bombay, in company with Messrs. Cursetji Nusserwanji Cama, Ardeshir Framji Moos and a number of other friends, on a journey through Southern India, the North-Western Provinces, Bengal and Upper India. A very interesting narrative of this tour was subsequently written by Mr. Moos and published under the title of "Travels in India."

After the words "the Committee," in line 40, in page 314, read :-

Dr. Bháu Dáji had been elected Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1852. He was elected a member of the Museum Committee thereof in November 1859. In 1848, the Government of Bombay, on the recommendations of the Honorable the Court of Directors and the Supreme Government of India, appointed a Cave Temple Commission to institute a general investigation into the number, situation and character of the Cave Temples, monasteries and other ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain remains within the territories of the Bombay Government. Dr. Bháu Dáji was, in November 1860, elected a member of this Commission, which formed another department of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

After line 39, in page 316 (His Personal characteristics), read:-

Another anecdote is told of his sincere affection for this Gujáráti Bráhman Bhagbánlál. Dr. Bháu Dáji somehow heard that the Pandit was suffering from ill-health while in Nepal, on account of the unwhole-some toor dal (Cajanus Indicus) which the latter used to partake of as his daily meal. So anxious did he become on the latter's account, that he forthwith sent a quantity of it from Bombay to the Pandit's address at a cost which was double the amount of its original price. The Postal authorities were perfectly at a loss to account for the grain being sent by post, and suspected that something else was being smuggled within the bags. So the Postal authorities in Nepál, when delivering the parcel to Bhagbánlál's servant, opened it and, to their utter surprise, found a large quantity of pulse.

After the word "died" in line 25, in page 319 (His Death, &-c.), read:—
Of a severe attack of paralysis.

After line 40, in page 320 (A Bibliography of his Writings), read :-

"11a.—Abstract of an English Translation of a Copperplate Grant (from Goa) in the old Devnágri character, dated 4328 of the Kaliyuga, i. e., A.D. 1247.—" Vol. VI., p. lxvi.

"11b.—Discovery of Historic Names and Date, i.e., of King Kokalla of the Kalachuri Race and 799 Saka, in the Kanheri Cave-Inscriptions of the Island of Salsette"—Vol. VI., p. lxvi.

After line 27, in page 321 read: "Marathi Schools and Schoolmasters;" an article that appeared in the Bombay Quarterly Review by Bháu Dájí, Esq.

Corrigenda.

In March 1876 the Honorary Secretaries to the Bháu Dáji Memorial Fund, under instructions of the Committee of that Fund, offered to the Bombay University, Government Promissory Notes with Rs. 5,000 for the purpose of founding, in memory of the late Doctor, an annual prize, called the "Bháu Dáji Prize," consisting of books of the value of Rupees two hundred, to be awarded to the Candidate who passes the B.A. Examination of that University with the highest marks for proficiency in Sanskrit. On the 31st March 1876, the Senate of the University of Bombay accepted the Committee's offer and founded the prize in that very year.

"2—The Balhara Dynasty of Arab Writers, not the Valabhi Dynasty of Kathiawar, but the Yadava Dynasty of the Deccan and Central India."—Vol. IX., p. clxiv.

"3.—Hyrkodes of Indian Numismatology, the same as Abhira Kotta, a king of the Abhira Dynasty. Gondopheres, a Kshatriya race, mentioned by Panini, who mentions also the Chalukyas." Vol. IX., p. clxiv.

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SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ART. IX.—PASSAGES FROM THE AUTOBIOGRA-PHY OF A BENGALEE GENTLEMAN OF SIXTY YEARS AGO.

THE substance of the following narrative, containing, among other matters, a curious account of Lord Amherst's tour in the North Western Provinces during the years 1826 and 1827, and of the first beginnings of the sanitarium at Simla, has been extracted from an autobiography left in manuscript by the late Rae Sree Narayan Bysakh, Bahadur, Dewan of the Governor-General's Household and Government Tosha-khana. Its chief interest depends on the rarity of compositions of the kind by natives of Bengal in past times; on the point of view of the autobiographist, and on the light which it throws on the cordiality of the relations which, in the early part of the century and before, existed between the highest officials and the Indian subordinates of the Government: the unreserved confidence reposed by the former in the latter; and their generous appreciation of the services rendered by them.

"The office of Dewan in the Governor-General's establishment," to quote the words of the writer, "was considered in former days as the most influential and honourable post. Dewans, Sheristadars and Khazanchies were, in other Departments, the only respectable appointments open to native gentlemen of rank and position. . . . The duties of the Government House Dewan were similar to those of the Private Secretary. Every Indian nobleman or gentleman who wished to see the Governor-General had to call on, or move the Dewan, in the first instance. He was often called on to act as

interpreter between his Lordship and the native visitor."

The importance of Sree Narayan's position may be gathered from the fact that when, at a period some twenty years later than that referred to in the autobiography, or in December 1850, his investiture took place, a special Durbar was held for the purpose by Lord Dalhousie at Lahore, attended with Military honours. "European soldiers," says one of the newspapers of the day, "were placed in two rows along the passage leading to the pavilion, and the street in front of it was filled with soldiers, cavalry, lancers, artillery, etc., right and left. . . . The European gentry consisting chiefly of the principal members and officers of the State (sic) seated on the left and on the right; native princes, beginning with Raja Teja Singh and Nawab Emamoodeen, to the number of upwards of a hundred Rajas, Sirdars and Nobles of the late Khalsa Court."

Sree Narayan Bysakh was the third and youngest son of the well-known Dewan, Ram Sunker Bysakh, and the sixth of a family of seven children. He was born in 1812, when his father was in the most affluent circumstances; and, as soon as he had passed his fourth year, his parents placed him in the pathsala which they had established at home, under the

tuition of a pandit.

In 1818, when in the Upper Provinces in attendance on the Governor-General, Dewan Ram Sunker wrote to his eldest son in Calcutta to get Sree Narayan enrolled in the Hindoo College, which had been established, some years before, under the auspices of the Government through the exertions of the Hindu community, headed by the Raja of Burdwan and aided by Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, Mr. H. Wilson, Mr. David Hare and others, and of which he was a subscribing member.

Sree Narayan commenced his English studies in this institution, and his intelligence very soon attracted the attention of Mr. D'Anselme, the Head of the College, who took his training under his personal care. He rose rapidly in the school, and carried off many prizes at the annual examinations, and Messrs. Hare and W. Money, who were visiting members, soon became much attached to him, and often made him

presents of books.

In the year 1826, the author of the autobiography tells us, his father took him one day, at his request, to Government House, and there he was introduced to the Governor-General's Staff, among whom Mr. Edward Hale, Private Secretary, and Captain the Honourable Jeffery Amherst, Military Secretary, nephew and son, respectively, of Lord Amherst, took much notice of him and "took him to the Countess and her daughter, the Lady Sarah, who were then sitting together after luncheon in the drawing-room, with Mrs. Abel and Miss Pyne, ladies of the family, Captain Lord Gordon and the Honorable Howard, A. D. C." The ladies, he continues, received him cordially, made him sit near them, and gave him books to read, and, whilst Sree Narayan was thus engaged, Lord Amherst came in, and he was introduced to him.

After this meeting, Sree Narayan visited Mr. Hale several times after school-hours; and on one of these occasions Mr. Hale gave him some papers to abstract. In the end, he requested Ram Sunker to bring his son with him on the Governor-General's tour of inspection to the Upper Provinces, telling him that he had a mind to employ him as his confiden-

tial assistant.

"Ram Sunker," says the writer, "at first hesitated, on the ground that he wished his son to finish his collegiate studies

before giving him employment. But, when he had consulted with her Ladyship, and when Mr. Hale and Dr. Abel, Surgeon to the Governor-General, told him that they would themselves take all care to finish Sree Narayan's education, and to bring him up properly, whilst he was thus employed, he agreed to the proposal." Thus, at the early age of not quite sixteen,

Sree Narayan entered the service of the Government.

In these times, continues the writer, the Governor-General used to set out from Calcutta for the Upper Provinces in boats, forming a regular fleet. Besides the State boats establishment, consisting of the Sonamukhi, the Philchehara, the bandboat and others, they engaged on hire a number of pinnaces, budgerows, bauleahs and fancy row boats for the accommodation and use of the gentlemen of the Staff and their families, as well as for the offices, which were generally in attendance during his Lordship's tour, mixed with a cluster of country boats of every description for the servants, baggage and other establishments.

Companies of soldiers, squadrons of the Governor-General's Body Guard (the horses being sent by land to the camp), with a piece of artillery, used to be in attendance, and a Captain was appointed to command the fleet, and to see order observed in its movements. Magistrates and Civil authorities were also busy in their respective circles, to see to the supply of provi-

sions and the like.

The Governor-General's band played at his Lordship's dinner, and parties were given, and Durbars held, on board the State yacht, at the stations through which this grand naval procession passed. The boats mostly had colors and flags attached to them, and it was a beautiful sight from both banks of the river, which people assembled in crowds to view, when the fleet moved.

All the arrangements having been made, His Lordship embarked at Barrackpore, and the fleet left that place in August 1826. At Nuddea the Captain reported that the river was shallow below Moorshedabad and at the Jellinghee-mohana. In consequence of this, the Governor-General ordered the route to be changed from the Bhagirathi, to enter the Khurria river, which led to the main source of the Ganges. By this route, the fleet, passing Krishnagur and Rampore Bauleah, reached Bhagwan Golah, then a famous grain mart on the banks of the Padma.

Lady Amherst and the young ladies often had Sree Narayan on board the "Sonamukhi" to write for them, and every evening he was regular in his visits to Mr. Hale and Dr. Abel for the purpose of receiving his lessons in different branches of learning.

Ram Sunker had also a Moonshee with him to teach him

Urdu and Persian.

At Rajmahal the Nawab Nazim Hamoon Jah sent one of his principal officers, with quantities of dâlies, to wait on the Governor-General, and at Monghyr and Bhaugulpore the Rajahs, Chiefs, and respectable residents paid their respects to his Lordship with the usual nuzzuranahs. At each of these places, there was a halt of two or three days. On the fleet reaching Patna (Bankipore), his Lordship held a great Durbar, for all the Rajahs and Chieftains of Behar, Sarun and Tirhoot, who had assembled there. His Lordship landed, and was accommodated for more than a week in a spacious house on the banks of the river, the seat of Sir Charles D'Oyly, the Opium Agent. All these days passed in meetings and rejoicings; and the Chiefs who visited the Governor-General, all laid before His Lordship trays filled with handsome presents, one of them presenting an elephant with silver howdah, and several of them, horses with trappings of silver.

At Dinapore His Lordship had an opportunity of seeing the troops in review; a levee and drawing-room were held, and dinner parties were given on board to the whole station, which

occupied five days.

Passing Buxar, Chunar, and Ghazipore, where the Chiefs were received in a similar manner, the fleet moved towards Benares. From Patna, Dewan Ram Sunker went on a visit to Gya, and, on Mr. Hale's representation, Sree Narayan was placed in charge

of his office during his absence.

At Benares, the Governor-General's stay was prolonged longer than was anticipated, the Rajah of Benares, Odit Narayan Sing, occupying his time with durbars, entertainments and shows. His Lordship also visited the principal Hindu temples, accompanied by all the civil and military Staff,—Ram Sunker and Sree Narayan being in attendance with bags of money, which the Governor-General ordered to be presented to the gods and to their priests. The Rajah of Benares, with the whole Hindu nobility of the place, attended His Lordship during this visit.

Prince Mirza Khoorum, with his cousins of the Imperial family of Delhi, who resided here, paid their respects to the Governor-General, as also did Nawab Shamshere Dowla, brother

to the King of Oude, and other respectable residents.

On the last day, at the request of Rajah Odit Narayan, His Lordship paid him a visit at his palace at Ramnagar, crossing the river in the evening. The Rajah entertained him with nautches and a display of fire-works, and a supper, and also laid before him presents of considerable value,—an elephant with silver howdah, horses with trappings of silver, and two cheetahs beautifully adorned with kinkhab, tass jhools, and gold earrings set with emeralds and pearls. These animals were brought

in to the audience before the Governor-General, and every one

was surprised at their tameness and beauty.

The fleet ultimately reached Allahabad, at which station the Governor-General's encampment was formed. Here the troops stood in lines, and salutes were fired from the ramparts of the fort on his Lordship's landing. The Rajahs and Chiefs from Bundelkhund and other adjacent places, were present at the reception; carpets were spread from the banks of the Jumna to the Viceregal pavilion, upon which the Governor-General, the nobility, and the officers present on the occasion, walked to the tent.

There was a halt of a week and half at this station. Levees and drawing-rooms were held as usual, and dinners given; and afterwards the Durbars of the several chieftains, amongst whom were Maharajah Beenaik Rao, son of Amrita Rao Peshwa-a rigid Brahmin of the royal line of the most noble house in the Deccan, with his uncle, Rajah Chimnajee Appa, the Maharajah of Rewa, who, Sree Narayan remarks, claims an antiquity beyond many of the princes in India, and whose house is always thought the most charitable. The Newab Zoolfucar Ali Khan of Banda, who is described as a thoroughly gentlemanly man, and many other Bundela Chiefs and Vakeels from other places, waited on his Lordship with handsome presents, inclusive of elephants and horses, and were received with the honour due to their rank, khilluts and presents being given to them. His Lordship, according to usage, also returned their visits; and the Rajah of Rewa entertained him with nautches and fire-works.

In the arrangements connected with these transactions, Dewan Ram Sunker took a prominent part, Sree Narayan, we are told, now began to render him valuable assistance, and, at the request of Mr. Hale, he also made précis of the Durbar

proceedings for the use of Lady Amherst.

The camp reached Cawnpore by marching, viâ Futtehpore. Lord Amherst's entry into this great military station was marked by much display, the troops being drawn up on both sides of the route from the cantonments to the Governor-General's tent. A halt of some weeks was made here, during which a levee and drawing-room were held and evening parties given, preparations being in progress in the meantime for a grand Durbar which had been ordered for the reception of the King of Oude, whose encampment was being formed on the opposite side of the Ganges, his kitchen department, called the "châpunee," having been sent forward in advance of the Governor-General's arrival, to supply his table with Oriental dishes and such fruits as the season afforded.

The King, Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, on his arrival, occupied a royal pavilion of scarlet and gold, which was pitched in the

centre of the encampment, with a temporary flower garden tastefully laid out in front of it; and a highly ornamental bridge of boats, erected by his order, across the river, formed

the means of communication between the two camps.

Sree Narayan writes: "I must speak something about this bridge. It was formed with one hundred and seven strong puttalahs of equal size, with beams and rafters, on which a regular road was made, so as to allow two elephants to tread side by side on each boat during the royal procession; but for safety's sake, one was only allowed. A substantial railing was fixed on the sides, covered with red cloth and tinsel. Flags and banners of every light and colour, i.e. of gold and silver taas, kinkhab, and of green and scarlet velvet, handsomely wrought in gold embroidery, were posted at intervals on both sides of this bridge, which was beautifully illuminated every night during the Governor-General's stay at the station; and, regarding the temporary flower-garden, it is noteworthy that flower-plants of every description were brought from Lucknow in tubs laden on hundreds of bullock carts. These were planted in the front of his royal tent. There were also three pleasure boats of the King, brought from his capital to this place, to be launched on the Ganges in case the King wished to have a river trip. These boats were also brought by draughts of bullocks."

The Durbar took place early in the morning, and when the King passed the bridge, with his splendid retinue, the spectacle was most imposing. The Governor-General went out to meet him at the end of the bridge and accompanied him to the Durbar, where his Highness took his seat, attended by his son, the Heir Apparent, and his Minister, the Nawab Mahmud Dowla. His Majesty sat at breakfast with the Governor-General, and, at their parting, his Lordship presented him with a beautiful emerald ring of great size and

purity, said to have been worth Rs. 15,000.

The next morning, at the same hour, the Governor-General went in state to the King's encampment. The King received his Lordship as soon as he had crossed the bridge, and conveyed him with all honor to his durbar tent. There the Governor-General breakfasted with the King, and when, after smoking out of a gold and jewelled hookkah at the King's request, and witnessing a nautch, his Lordship rose from his seat, his Majesty presented him with a handsome diamond ring of greater value than the one he had received on the previous morning.

During the halt of the camp at Cawnpore not a day passed without some entertainment, oriental ceremony, or a review of the British troops, after which the King took leave of the Governor-General and proceeded in advance to Lucknow,

where he had to make preparations for the reception of his Lordship. H. M. 16th Lancers, and a regiment of European foot and light cavalry, besides the troops which escorted the Governor-General's camp, were also ordered to be in attendance, together with the usual escort attending the camp.

The camp passed the bridge, and halted at a place about three miles from the city gate. Early the next morning, the Governor-General set out on his State elephant, attended by his full Staff on a train of elephants, and escorted by the

Royal Lancers and his Body Guard.

In front of the procession the Light Dragoons, with drawn swords, rode by twos. The State elephants, with the Governor-General, followed, and behind them the other elephants, with riders, two and two, the rear being escorted by the full strength of the Governor-General's Body Guard. As soon as the retinue reached the city gate, the King; who was in waiting, came out, on a handsomely caparisoned elephant, with a golden open howdah, set with precious stones and fringed with pearls and

drops of emeralds.

The dragoons divided themselves on the right and left, fronting the road in two lines, to allow the King's elephant to meet that of the Governor-General. The King then came in with five or six elephants, on one of which was his son, on another the Minister, with the Resident, and the rest with his personal Mosahebs and members of the Royal family. When the Chiefs met each other they rose up, and the King helped the Governor-General to his own elephant, and seated him on his right. A very handsome looking and superbly dressed young man was with the King, in the khawabee, with a bird of paradise-feathered Chowri in his hand, with its handle set in gold, with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. The Governor-General's Nazir took his seat with this youth, with a bag of money in his hand, it having been arranged beforehand that both the King and the Governor-General should scatter money, through the hands of their own servants, to the poor as they passed through the city. His Majesty's Abyssinian Life Guards, clad in glittering uniforms, and his Mogul Sowars, carrying gold maces, were in attendance on him. When the King met the Governor-General, says the writer, "his splendid dress, his diamond crown, and the shining apparatus with which the royal elephant was decorated, reflected by the rising sun, dazzled the sight of all spectators."

"We entered the city, the street of which was narrow, in consequence of which order had been given previously that one elephant should pass at a time, according to the dignity of its rider. The King's retinue moved in front, after which the Light Dragoons preceded the elephants of the Royal sowaree; the King's courtiers joined us and mixed with our elephants,

after which the G. G's Body Guard and the King's Abyssinian cavalry marched in the rear. There were no less than 350

elephants.

The whole city was adorned through which we passed, the shopkeepers, shawl and kinkhab merchants, and dealers of every description, exposed all their wares in the lower floors for show; on the second and third storeys citizens and rich people were standing with all show and grandeur to salute the Chief, and in the intermediate buildings dancing girls, with their glittering jewels and dazzling peshwaz, were seen salaaming the Chiefs as the elephants passed on, and scattering flowers while they sang in chorus, to hail the advent of the ruler of

India into their city."

The procession, passing through the streets, the buildings on both sides of which were handsomely decorated by order of the King, came to the gate of the "Baraduaree." The Nahabat immediately struck up from the towers on both sides of the gate. The Governor-General and the King alighted in tonjons, as usual, and were carried to the steps of the throne-room. The Royal Audience Hall, which the King had lately had adorned with his new peacock throne-the "Takht Táús"- made of gold, and dazzling with diamonds and precious stones, the peacock in it being set with emeralds, sapphires, and rubies so as to appear like life. This Takht Taus, though not equal to the Emperor Shahjehan's famous "peacock throne," was an imitation of it, and cost the King of Oude, it was said, four crores of Rupees. The great Durbar saloon, where the throne was placed, was painted by European artists, and tastefully decorated with handsome mirrors, framed in solid silver,—two oil paintings, a likeness of the King and another of the Marquis; chandeliers, girandoles and marble sideboards, flower garlands fringing the walls and doorways, red velvet-embroidered carpets on the floor, and green and scarlet velvet curtains. The throne, which rose five steps from the floor, was of octagonal shape, and mounted throughout with gold. The marble pillars which supported the the canopy, were set with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, wrought into flower garlands round them.

The velvet musnud, with its three pillows, was bordered a foot broad with the same precious stones, and fringed with pearls to match the glittering canopy, the facings of which were beautifully wrought over red velvet. On either side of the throne steps, was a peacock of life size, with its plumes inlaid throughout with emeralds, sapphires and amethysts. These held in their beaks two very large pearl drops, of the size of grapes. The king, taking the Governor-General by the hand, walked towards the throne, and requested his Lordship to take his seat on it. The Governor-General declined and

took his seat on one of the gold enamelled chairs which, with that of the King, were placed backing the throne. After a short, formal conversation, the King conducted his Lordship to the "Sultan Manzil," an ornamental hall adjoining the former. similarly furnished and adorned with lustres, mirrors and pictures of the King and Queen of England, where a grand breakfast was prepared. The table, with its two wings, groaned under about a thousand covers, and was adorned with a more brilliantly elaborate service of gold than had been seen in his camp at Cawnpore. All sorts of Mogul dishes, as well as English, were laid out, and the repast lasted an hour-and-half, ending with the beverage with which the emerald cups were filled, the Christian musicians playing all the time. The superb jewelled hookkahs with their appurtenances were then brought in, and a nautch of beautiful Cashmere and Hindustani girls went on whilst his Lordship and the King smoked the "hookkah." The Governor-General asked the Heir Apparent to take his seat between him and his father, and talked to him about his education, the King replying to the questions put to his son. The Minister, Nawab Mahomed Dawla, talked frequently with his Lordship.

A tree-shaped attar-dan, set with emeralds, was next brought in, and placed in front of the King. Different phials containing several species of attar were hanging on it, out of which his Majesty chose the Istamboul otto of roses, and helped his Lordship with his own hands. When the Governor-General rose to depart, a golden salver was brought, and the king taking the "gota har" from it, put it on his Lordship, whilst a number of these hars (garlands), on golden salvers, were served out by the Minister to all the guests.

On the arrival and departure of the Governor-General, salutes were fired from the King's arsenal. The King, as usual, helped his Lordship to the tonjon himself, and took his leave, when the Governor-General got into the State carriage with the Heir Apparent and the Minister. The carriage drove through the streets to the Residency, where the Governor-General put up during his stay at Lucknow. In the evening, and every morning and evening during the visit, two or three carriages, drawn by four horses, a number of elephants, with gold and silver Howdahs, and handsome saddle horses, were sent by the King for the use of the Governor-General and his personal staff. A number of Chobdars with gold maces, the handles of which were set with emeralds, with two gold and four silver tonjons, were always in attendance at the Governor-General's landing place. "Lady Amherst," says the writer, " often asked Dewan Ram Sunker to make use of any of these conveyances which he chose, and so we had for our use two tonjons." Sree Narayan had the pleasure of taking out one of the elephants to go to see the different palaces and gardens, and of these, he records, he visited 37 out of 62. The Padshahbagh, a most beautiful garden across the Goomtee, in which an Englishmade suspension bridge was constructed, the Tara Buksh, the Dilkhosh, Sultan Manzil, Shah Manzil, Mobaruk Manzil, &c., &c., were visited. He also saw a fine building, erected by General La Martine, and the beautiful serpentine lake by which it was surrounded. As the ceremony of Châ Pani ceased on our arrival in the city, the King sent daily for the Governor-General's table, in the morning and evening, Puláo and Qormas, &c., in khunchas, with covers of velvet embroidery, and in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, "one of his nobles waited for Mizaj Khush, with a number of tinsel-tied bottles containing murrabbas, chutneys, rose-water, and other perfumery."

The camp of the Governor-General was pitched in Dilkhosh Bag, about 4½ miles from the city, where, all except the household, were quartered. The Persian Secretary lived with the Governor-General, and held his office in another red tent in the same compound. On the afternoon of the day of their arrival, the Governor-General, with the Countess and family, drove in the King's carriage to the Dilkhosh Bag, escorted by a troop of the Body Guard. The next morning, Lady Amherst, Lady Sarah and the other ladies drove in one of the King's State carriages to the Padshah Bag, escorted by the Resident and Staff, Sree Narayan being in attendance on her Ladyship. In the afternoon, a deputation, headed by the Persian Secretary, went to the palace and informed the King that the Governor-General intended to hold a Durbar the next afternoon in which the khilluts and usual presents would be laid before his Majesty.

"Durbar after durbar, entertainments of every description, illuminations, displays of fire-works, and State suppers given on both sides, were almost every day occurrences during his Lordship's stay in the city. Besides these there were animal fights of many sorts—elephants with elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, bears, buffaloes, &c., with which the King amused the Governor-General, and also with his favourite hawk sporting and

cock fighting."

At one of these Durbars, the Governor-General gave his Majesty and the Heir Apparent formal presents, and khilluts to his nobles and officers. The presents included elephants and horses, as well as the two cheetahs with their belongings.

The day previous to his Lordship's departure, the King held a grand durbar in his Throne-room, in which he in like manner laid before His Lordship the usual presents of valuable horses and elephants, and distributed khilluts to the functionaries and officials of the Government.

The King, amongst other things, seemed to be very much pleased with the cheetahs. His Majesty and the Heir Apparent were much beholden to Sree Narayan for translating into Urdu some English songs, which Lady Amherst wished to be presented to the King. Among these was a boatmen's song, which the King set to a Hindustani air. In recognition of this service, his Majesty commanded his Minister to have Sree Narayan robed in a khillut of honour, in the presence of the audience.

Mirza Soliman Shokoe, of the Imperial house of Timour, and brother to the then potentate of Delhi, who resided here, paid his respects to the Governor-General. He was the father of the amiable and accomplished Princess, the Sultan Buhoo, who was married to the Heir Apparent of Oude, afterwards King Nasur-ood-Deen Hyder. Soliman Shokæ, who was one of the learned men of the time and a poet, presented the Governor-General with a Persian book, written by himself, in praise of his Lordship and the British Government in India. His younger brother, Mirza Sekunder Shokoe, who also resided at Lucknow, was not in the city at this time. Between Dewan Ram Sunker and these brothers, the writer tells us, there had long subsisted a great friendship owing to the proficiency of the Dewan in the Persian and Arabic languages.

Ram Sunker received frequent invitations from the nobles to their evening parties, and was always present, with his son, at those of the King. One evening, the King, after putting the Governor-General and Lady Amherst into their carriage, passed Ram Sunker, who asked his Majesty's permission to leave; whereupon the King, taking him by the hand, and conducting him upstairs, made him sit on the side of his musnud, saying: "We will now enjoy ourselves in quiet with the Dewan Sahib, in hearing the songs of our best songstresses for a few

hours."

The King is described as very frank and agreeable in his manners, of handsome appearance, and affable in his conversation. He was excessively fond of show, and luxurious in his habits, but withal he was liberal and took a delight in helping people in distress. His chief aim, says Sree Narayan, was "to please the Governor-General, and to maintain a firm alliance with the British Government at any cost."

After a halt of thirteen days at Lucknow, continues Sree Narayan, the camp moved towards Shajehanpore, and from thence to Bareily, Futtehpore, Sumbul and Moradabad. At the first-named place, the Nawab of Rampore, a relic of one of the ancient Rohilla families, visited the Governor-General in

Durbar.

On his way to Agra, his Lordship visited the tomb of Shaik

Sullim at Futtehpore Sikree, which is described as a costly piece of architecture, built by the Emperor Akbar in honour of this dervesh, who was his spiritual guide. The usual contribution from the Governor-General, it is noted, was paid to the fund of the tomb.

Thence the Governor-General moved to Bhurtpore, where, says the writer, his reception by the minor Rajah, Bulwunt Singh, was deserving of note. His Highness, with his full court, attended by his ancestral insignia of banners and flags with silver handles, with a number of maces of gold and silver, preceded by his Naubut-Khana on one of his large elephants, came out to meet his Lordship and escorted him to his encampment. His mother, Ranee Khem Cowar, was then the Regent of the State. The same evening the Maharanee sent to the Governor-General's camp a ziyafat of sweetmeats laden in ten bullock carts, which his Lordship ordered the dewan to distribute amongst the troops, the servants, and the camp followers.

A durbar was held the next day, at which presents of considerable value, including elephants and horses, were given to the Rajah by his Lordship, and his courtiers were robed in handsome khilluts. The Governor-General went in State to the fort, and returned the visit of the Rajah at his palace on the day following. His Lordship, it is stated, accepted all the valuable presents which his Highness and the Maharanee laid before him, including two elephants with silver howdahs, and four horses with trappings of gold and silver. His Highness also conferred khilluts on the officers of his Lordship's Staff, and the Dewan Ram Sunker was robed in a khillut of honour.

Presents consisting of jewellery, Benares doputtahs, Dacca muslins, kinkhabs and shawls, were at the same time sent, on the part of the Governor-General, for the Maharanee, by the hands of Dewan Ram Sunker, who was attended on this errand by Sree Narayan. The Ranee gave the usual presents to the Dewan on the occasion, and to his son a pair of gold bangles and a pair of shawls.

On the last day, the Rajah invited the Gove

On the last day, the Rajah invited the Governor-General to an evening party, at which he was entertained with nautches and a display of fireworks, and a grand supper was provided. Ranee Khem Cowar expressed her gratitude to his Lordship for having replaced her son, Bulwunt Singh, on his father's musnud, which had been temporarily usurped by Doorjun Sant. This rebel had been deposed, after a hot resistance, by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, in 1825.

Dewan Ram Sunker had long been held in great regard in the Bhurtpore Durbar, the officials of which were most of them old acquaintances, and they frequently consulted him, at the desire

of the Maharanee, in matters connected with the reception of the Governor-General on this occasion. The Maharanee also sent handsome presents for her Ladyship and Lady Sarah, which, as a matter of etiquette, were accepted.

The Governor-General next visited the Hindu shrines at Brindabun, and presented to each of the three principal temples

a thousand rupees, wrapped in kinkhab bags.

Passing Muttra, the camp arrived at Agra, where a number of Rajahs, Nawabs and Chieftains had assembled to pay their respects to the Governor-General, amongst them the grand Mahratta mission from Maharaja Dowlut Rao Scindia being the most prominent. This mission was headed by Rajah Hindu Rao and Appa Sahib Phatunkur, the former, the brother of the famous Baiza Baee, and the latter Her Highness's son-in-law. Prior to the Governor-General's entering the city, all the chieftains who were at Agra, met his Lordship on their elephants, with their respective retinues, and accompanied him till he reached his tent. It was a grand, but to European eyes, rather a tumultuous Eastern spectacle.

The first durbar which his Lordship held, was for the purpose of receiving the Gwalior Mission, and is described as a very grand affair. Hindu Rao and Appa Sahib came in on a remarkably large elephant, ornamented from head to foot with gold and silver ornaments, and carrying a handsome gold ambari, on which these chiefs were seated. The canopy of this ambari was of burnished gold and fringed with pearls. A number of the Maharajah's courtiers and nobles, all on ele-

phants, were in attendance.

Raja Hindu Rao and Appa Sahib Phatunkur represented the indisposition with which the Maharajah Scindia was affected, and conveyed to his Lordship an expression of his Highness's regret at his inability to come and visit him. The Governor-General in turn expressed his regret and his hopes for his Highness's speedy recovery. He then ordered the Chiefs to be dressed in the khilluts prepared for them, and Dewan Ram Sunker conducted them one by one into the adjoining tent,

where they were all robed.

The next afternoon was fixed for the return visit. Some of the Chiefs waited on the Governor-General before his starting, and Hindu Rao and Phatunkur met him half way. In the durbar tent his Lordship was seated on a gold chair, and had laid before him all the valuable presents which the Maharajah Scindia and Baiza Baee had sent for his acceptance, including an elephant, with a gold howdah, and several horses, with trappings of gold and silver. At the close of the Durbar, Rajah Hindu Rao had brought to him, on gold salvers, a number of pearl necklaces, which he presented, with his own hand, to each of

the gentlemen and officials present, inclusive of the Dewan and his son, who were in attendance on the Governor-General. In the evening they sent a great quantity of sweetmeats, laden in

eleven bullock carts, as a ziyáfat for the whole camp.

The Maharajahs of Dholepore, Kota, and Boonda, and Nawab Ameer Khan, the Nawab of Tonk, an experienced soldier and a renowned warrior, were successively received in durbar by his Excellency, the usual exchanges of presents and khilluts taking place and their visits being returned. A durbar was also held for the reception of a deputation from the Maharajah of Jeypore.

The last was a "Durbar Aum," in which all the minor Rajahs, chieftains, embassies, vakeels, and other respectable residents, were introduced to the Governor-General, and presented the usual nuzzurs, many of them also receiving khilluts. This Durbar, says Sree Narayan, commenced at 4 o'clock in the

afternoon, and did not close till long after candle light.

While these ceremonies were going on, the Governor-General often invited the Maharajahs, the Nawabs, and the Gwalior Mission to his evening parties, and introduced them to her Ladyship and other ladies of rank. His Lordship also took them with him in State to see an illumination at the Taj, and visited, with them, the different palaces in the fort.

The Governor-General, after leaving Agra, visited the tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra, and, as usual, contributed a thousand rupees to its fund, as he had also done at the "Tai"

at Agra.

At Agra, the Governor-General informed Rajah Hindu Rao of his intention to send a message to Scindia's durbar to enquire after his health, and lay before him the presents which he had prepared for the Maharajah and the Ranee Baiza Baie. His Lordship also expressed his regret that the affairs of Government would leave him no time to visit Gwalior personally on the present occasion. Hindu Rao accordingly left a guard of honour of his Gwalior soldiers and horsemen to escort the Mission to the capital.

The deputation consisted of the Persian Secretary, the British Resident at the Court of Gwalior, Mr. Lushington, Junior Secretary in the Political Department, and two gentlemen of the Governor-General's personal Staff. Dewan Ram Sunker and Sree Narayan were ordered to be in attendance. The deputatation, with a suitable escort, left Agra some ten days prior to the departure of the head quarters from the station, and reached

Gwalior in ten days.

When the Mission arrived within one stage of the capital, the Maharajah sent out Hindu Rao, with some of his relatives and courtiers, to receive them and escort them to the city. On

VOL. XCV.]

their arrival, a salute was fired in their honor, and they were encamped in front of the fort. In the evening his Highness sent a ziyáfat of sweetmeats from the palace, and the next afternoon he commanded a Durbar to be held in the palace, in which he received the British Mission with every mark of respect.

The next morning, his Highness sent his own dishes of pulao and different other delicacies, and sweetmeats in large gold vases with covers, and, in the evening he invited the deputation to a grand nautch, and a display of fireworks, prepared by Portuguese artists who were in his service. The Mission took their leave the next day, after receiving the usual khilluts from his Highness and the presents of jewellery, &c., made by Baiza Baie, as a matter of oriental ctiquette, for Lady Amherst and Lady Sarah.

On their parting, the Maharaja again assured Mr. Stirling of his friendly alliance with the British Government, and his

gratitude to its representative.

After leaving Agra, the Governor-General's camp moved towards Delhi; but, in consequence of his Lordship's desire to see the ancient ruins of the capital, which extended over an area of several miles, a circuitous route was adopted, the

distance being travelled by stages.

His Lordship visited the dilapidated fort of Togrul Beg, the tomb of "Nizam-ood-din-oolah," the tomb of Humayoon, and many other similar edifices too numerous to enumerate; and when the Governor-General was one stage from the city, the Mission came back from Gwalior and met his Lordship, Sir Charles, afterwards Lord Metcalfe, the British Resident at Delhi, visited his Lordship here, and suggested that the entry into the city should be a public and State one, as the Rajas from Sirhind, the Prince and Sultans of the Imperial house, the Begum Sumro of Sirdhana, and embassies from several native Courts of the Rajwara States, together with the whole of the respectable residents of the city, were expected to meet him on the way. To avoid the confusion which had been experienced on former occasions, his Lordship decided that, instead of going on an elephant, he would ride all the way, accompanied by the Civil and Military authorities and his personal staff, with a suitable escort, his State carriages conveying Lady Amherst and the other ladies.

The camp moved the following day and halted some twoand-half miles from the city; and the next morning, the Governor-General set out, escorted by the full strength of the Body Guard, with the Light Cavalry in the rear. As the procession moved on, his Lordship received the salutations of all the nobility and gentry, who stood in regular order for his reception on the side of the road leading to the Cashmere gate; and, on his entering the city, the British troops, who lined the street,

presented arms, and salutes were fired in his honour.

He alighted at the princely house of the Resident built by Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, while his personal staff, with the Dewan and his office, were put up in tents pitched in the compound, and the whole of the camp was quartered in

the Esplanade outside the Cashmere gate.

Akbar II, son of the Emperor Shah Alam, at this time occupied the throne of his forefathers at Delhi. Though he was a stipendiary Prince, he received much of the homage becoming the wearer of the Moghul crown; and he also enjoyed certain privileges within the precincts of his palace, as well as in the city and some portions of the province of Delhi. Most of the Princes and Chieftains of Hindustan obtained his nominal recognition on their succession, as a matter of etiquette. He was in the habit of leaving his palace on the anniversary of the Eed, for the purpose of attending the service in the Jumma Musjid, and, on his return, he sat in the Divan to receive the nuzzurs of the respectable residents of Delhi. On the occasion of his periodical visits to the tombs of his ancestors, too, he was attended by the Resident.

His Majesty having expressed a desire to visit and confer with the Governor-General, it was arranged that a grand Durbar should be held at Delhi for his reception, and Sir Charles Metcalfe had been engaged for some months in making the necessary

preparations for the ceremony.

The Durbar was held on the third day after his Lordship's arrival, at ten o'clock in the morning. At half past nine, the Governor-General set out on his elephant to meet the King, escorted by his Body Guard, and attended by the whole Civil and Military Staff, also on elephants, and, on his reaching the palace gate, the King came out to meet him. His Majesty was seated on a large elephant, in a gold ambari, his two sons occupying seats behind him. After the customary salutations, the united processions moved towards the Residency, the King's elephant being in the centre and those of the Governor-General and the Resident to the right and left of it, while a large number of the principal inhabitants walked in front of the King. On arriving at the Residency, the King alighted from his elephant and was conveyed to the durbar in a gold tonjon.

Having taken his seat on his throne, he, by a movement of his hand, invited the Governor-General to seat himself on his right, facing the throne, while the Heir Apparent and Prince Mirza Sultan stood on the right and left of the throne, and the Resident stood facing the Governor-General. The British officers in attendance took their stand, in the order of their rank, on the right of the Governor-General, and the native nobility

on the left of the Resident,—the Governor-General and British officers all wearing their shoes by pre-arrangement. After a conversation which lasted half an hour, the Governor-General's presents were laid before the King by the Dewan, in 101 trays, and an elephant with silver howdah, and horses with gold and silver trappings, were also presented. Afterwards his Lordship helped the King to attar and pan with his own hands. On the breaking up of the Durbar, the Governor-General ac-

companied the King half way to the palace.

The next day, the Governor-General returned the King's visit. On reaching the gate of the fort, the party alighted from their elephants, his Lordship being carried in a tonjon, from which he descended in front of the Dewan Aum, where Aurungzeb and other Emperors had held their audiences, and where he was received by the Princes of the Royal blood and the nobles of the Court. Having passed through the courtyard, his Lordship reached the "Lal purdah" of gold, embroidered with scarlet velvet, where the Heir Apparent and Mirza Sullim met him, and, taking him by the hand, escorted him to the grand hall of audience, or Dewan Khas, in the centre

of which the King was seated on his throne.

"The Governor-General," writes Sree Narayan "allowed the ancient formalities of the Great Mogul's Court to be strictly observed, and, without the least deviation from the established rules due to its exalted dignity. The party approaching the presence had to make three bows, the first, on entering the 'Lal Purdah' which faced the throne, the second on reaching the middle of the Royal Court, and the third on approaching the throne. The Governor-General took his seat on his golden State chair, which was placed in the same manner as in the Durbar of the previous day, while the whole of the party took their respective places as before. After the exchange of "Mizaj pursish" between the King and the Governor General, his Majesty introduced to his Lordship all his sons and the members of the Royal Family, the Governor-General rising from his seat, and receiving them with every mark of cordiality, one after another. The ceremonial conversation which followed, lasted more than an hour, after which the King's presents were produced and received, khilluts bestowed, and attar and pan distributed, the King offering the latter to the Governor-General with his own hand.

The camp then moved, vià Sirdhana and Mooradabad, to Sirhind, and when it reached Umballa and Loodhiana, the ex-Chief of Cabul, then a fugitive under British protection, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, with his son, Sufdur Jung, visited the Governor-General at the latter place, and the Raja of Patiala at the

former.

The Governor-General, having received favourable accounts of the good climate of the hills, had deputed some medical men to inspect Simla, where, at that time, there was a single bungalow, erected by the Pay-Master, Captain Grant, of Cawnpore, who had gone there for the recovery of his health. This part of the hills was partly in the possession of the Patiala Raja, who, at his Lordship's request, ceded the tract to the Government, under a Treaty; and Lord Amherst gave instructions for four or five bungalows to be erected for the accommodation of his suite.

From Umballa the camp moved to Barr at the foot of the hills, where it was broken up, the regiments in escort and the camp retinue being ordered to remain at Umballa and Loodhi-

ana during his Lordship's stay in the hills.

"In the latter end of 1826" says the writer "the Governor-General and his family, with his Secretaries and personal staff. started for the hills. His Lordship, with his family, put up at the Bukshee Grant's bungalow, which was the spot between the roads leading to Sukkur Bazar and the Simla Bazar, and not above the present church. Above the bazar in the bungalows newly built, the Private and Military Secretaries and the personal staff were lodged; in the two bungalows built at Stirling Castle, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Financial Secretary, and Mr. Stirling, the Persian Secretary, with their assistants, took up their abode, and on the steep now called Bentinck Castle, two bungalows were built, in one of which Lord Gordon, A. D. C., with his family, put up, and the one thatched with grass was allotted for Dewan Ram Sunker, his son, and his establishment. Major Kennedy, of the Nusserie battalion, which was then stationed at Sabathoo, was appointed superintendent of the Hill Station. He had a little place built between Bentinck Castle and the Governor General's residence, where he lived."

The writer, in his own quaint way, gives a lively description of a fire which broke out in one of the out-houses, owing to the negligence of some native servants, and rapidly spread to the thatched bungalow occupied by the Dewankhanah. It was at about 2 P.M., he says, when the Dewan was out, calling on Messrs. Stirling and Mackenzie, that, while he was writing in the bungalow, the sentinel on guard gave the alarm. Coming out at once, Sree Narayan saw that the office bungalow was in a blaze; but, he tells us, instead of securing his father's valuables and his own property, he seized the trunks containing Lady Amherst's jewel cases, and "by sheer force pushed them down the hill." The boxes of specie which were in the bungalow, proved too much for the united efforts of himself and the servants to move, but he was lucky enough to be able to save the writing-case "containing the secret Minutes of the Governor-General, of which he was making fair copies."

Major Kennedy, noticing the fire from a distance, hurried to the spot, with a number of pakhals, bhisties and coolies, to extinguish it; but the Dewankhanah bungalow was burnt to the ground, and that occupied by Lord and Lady Gordon much damaged, before it was put out.

Lady Amherst, we are told, showed her appreciation of Sree Narayan's services on this occasion by presenting him with a Cashmere shawl; and compensation was granted by the

Government for the loss sustained by the Dewan.

In June 1827, a deputation from the Maharaja Runjit Singh, headed by Sirdar Hari Singh, arrived at Simla. The Deputation was received at Sairee, twelve miles below Simla, by the two Under Secretaries, two members of the Governor-General's personal Staff, and the Superintendent of the Hill States, and subsequently encamped on the plateau at Kythoo, the present Annandale. The Envoy, who had several interviews with Lord Amherst, Sree Narayan tells us, was escorted by 500 infantry, 200 cavalry and two guns, and accompanied by Jotishi Sankar Nath Pandit, the famous astrologer of Ranjit Singh.

During the stay of the Governor-General at Simla, a durbar was held for the reception of the neighbouring hill Chiefs, whose "Grecian" features, fair complexion, and simple manners

are noticed by Sree Narayan.

Lord Amherst rejoined his camp at the foot of the hills in June, and, after visiting Saharanpur, moved towards Meerut, then the head-quarters of the army on the frontier. Here he halted for upwards of a week; and a levee was held, and numerous entertainments were given, including a grand ball

to Lady Amherst.

From Meerut Lord Amherst paid a flying visit to Hurdwar, and, on his return from that place, he embarked with his camp at Ghur Mukhtesur Ghat, whence the whole fleet set sail down stream in July. After a few days the fleet arrived at Futtehgurh, where a halt of four days took place, and the Nawab of Furrakkabad visited the Governor-General, who returned his visit the next day, and a display of fireworks was given by the Nawab. From Furrakhabad the fleet proceeded to Cawnpore, where the Governor-General, after receiving the officers of the station on board his yacht, landed, in the afternoon, and was accommodated in "the well-known bungalow of Paymaster Grant." A levee and dinner-party followed; the station gave a ball to the Countess, and during the halt, which lasted six days, a review of the troops was held.

The next halting place was Allahabad, where the fleet anchored under the fort. A levee was held on board the State Yacht, and among the chiefs and princes who sent represen

tatives to wait on the Governor-General were the son of the Ex-Peshwa, and his cousin, Raja Chandu Appajee. After a stay of four days at Cawnpore, the fleet moved to Mirzapore, where the Governor-General visited the custom-house, cutcheries and the different marts of cotton, sugar, saltpetre, etc, "which abounded at that place."

After passing Rajmehal, the fleet was met by that of the Nawab Nazim, consisting of H. H's Maurpunkhie, with the Nawab on board, the Philchehara, which carried the Hon'ble Mr. Melville, the Governor-General's Agent, and innumerable boats of every description, among which were many hundred-oared, fast chips, handsomely decorated with scarlet and gold.

The diary concludes with an account of the arrival of Lord Amherst's successor, Lord William Bentinck, who reached Calcutta towards the close of 1828, and took charge from the Hon'ble C. W. Bayley, who, as senior member of Council, had held the reins of Government in the interim that followed the departure of Lord Amherst in March of the same year.

In connexion with the changes in the Governor-General's personal staff that took place, Sree Narayan notes that Captain Frayser, his Lordship's aide-de-camp, "was a Sanskrit scholar, and used to talk half-broken Sanskrit to himself and his father." He also tells us that Colonel D'Hezata, "a retired officer of the German legion and a friend of his Lordship," who came to India shortly after, and who lived in Government House as a member of the family, and assisted the Private Secretary, used to sit at the same table with him in the office, and "took a fancy to teach him French," he, in return, giving him lessons in the vernacular. Sree Narayan further notes that Colonel D'Hezata was "learned in the classics." One of the first things the new Governor-General did was to introduce a number of petty economies in Government House. He made a clean sweep of the flower and fruit-garden which Lord Amherst had laid out in the compound, and "in a few days the whole ground was cleaned and levelled to give way to a green bed of grass." He curtailed the household expenditure and laid down a fixed allowance for the table expenses, which was "on no account to be exceeded." Sree Narayan adds that he also "took great pains in examining the Civil List of the Government, and out of the surplus, he opened offices for the Natives of India, such as Deputy Collectors and Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameens, for which the country cherishes his memory with feelings of everlasting gratitude."

In connexion with Lord W. Bentinck's journey to Benares, preparatory to his tour of the Upper Provinces, on which he started in November 1830, Sree Nazayan remarks that there was then only one river steamer in Calcutta, which had been

newly built, and which he used for the occasion. Before leaving, he drew up his famous Minute, in which he ordered that the custom which had theretofore prevailed, of exchanging presents, should thenceforth cease, except on extraordinary occasions when custom absolutely required it, and when they were to go to the credit of the Government, and prohibited the receipt of presents of any description from natives by servants of the Government. By the introduction of this rule, Sree Narayan feelingly adds, "The Dewan and the Meer Munshee were the greatest losers, as all the khillats they received from the different Chieftains in open durbar were considered their legitimate due."

ART. X .- NATURE.

Common-place in European thought—in which is to be included that of North America—that Nature is the perfect teacher and example of Man. J. J. Rousseau was, perhaps, the originator of this doctrine: in his celebrated essays, especially the second—the Discours sur l'inégalité—he laid it down with eloquence and conviction. "You make one want," said Voltaire, "to walk on all fours." According to this professed enemy of arts and letters, Man is guilty of rebellion and blasphemy against Nature in extending and bringing towards perfection the faculties with which he has been born. In the same spirit the poet Cowper tells us that,—

"God made the country and man made the town."

A few years later, Wordsworth recorded a more formal confession of his trust in the new divinity—

"Knowing that Nature never did betray
The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,
Through all the years of this our life, to lead
From joy to joy; etc."

In our own days, it can hardly be said that Mr. Ruskin and his numerous admirers have consciously followed Rousseau; but theirs are kindred beliefs. Among any hundred persons of culture you would, in all probability, find ninety-nine who would unhesitatingly hold that, whether in Art or in Conduct, all that men have to do is to be "natural," to follow "the laws

of nature," and to walk in her ways day and night.

Now, in regard to one part, at least, of this creed, we are not left at the mercy of conjecture. A moment's sincere reflection is enough to show that it is not a safe guide as to conduct, whatever it may be for art. Natural conduct must, in the long run, mean that of primitive man; and, however Rousseau may argue, the habits of primitive man are found by experience to be far from conducive to human welfare. The warfare of savages is extermination, slavery, cannibalism; their civil polity, anarchy and solitude; their religion, the worship of toys and of incarnate wickedness; and of primitive man savages are the only type to our hands.

Doubtless, the question of Nature in Art is less simple, and may be viewed on both sides. The attitude of man towards Nature was much discussed in English literary circles in the first quarter of the century; and the Rev. W. L. Bowles—who passed at that time for a critic and a poet—went so far as to

declare that-

"The true poet should have an eye attentive to, and familiar with, every change of season, every variation of light and shade of nature, every rock, every tree, and every leaf, in her secret places. He who has not an eye to observe these, and who cannot with a glance distinguish every hue in her variety, must be so far deficient in one of the essential qualities

of a poet."

It would, perhaps, be unjust to reply by referring to the oblivion that has swallowed the reverend gentleman's own metrical compositions; because a man may be a good critic without being a good poet. But it is noticeable that greater men than he concurred in this criticism of Art, by which, in fact, Wordsworth weighed no less an artist than Pope, and found him wanting. Pope, however, though dead, proved to have a word to say for himself: his work had pleased posterity—as indeed it still does—and he had recorded his opinion that man was the proper study of mankind, and that descriptive poetry was not his object. Where Nature, he said, forms the body of a poem, it is as absurd as a feast made up of sauces.

"Assuredly," remarked Campbell, taking up Pope's cause, "this botanising perspicacity might be essential to a Dutch flower painter; but Sophocles displays no such skill, and yet he is a great poet. Even in describing the island of Philoctetes, there is no minute observation of nature's hues in

secret places."

Gray—who could draw pretty pictures when he would,—laid it down as a rule that description should never form the bulk or subject of a poem: and—to borrow from a sister art—the greatest landscape-painters have practised selection and generalisation, and have endeavoured to give their works a focus of human interest.

Evidently, then, there have been great artists who have not joined in the engouement which has characterised so much of our recent literature, the almost abject toadying of material phenomena, which make up what is generally understood when we speak of Nature. They have felt, with the inspired writer, that the things that are not seen are eternal.

What is the antithesis?

John Stuart Mill was so penetrated by the problem of evil, as to be led, in one of his latest writings, into expressing a doubt of the omnipotence of the Creator. He thought that the argument from design was a potent proof of some of the Divine attributes. It was not a mere argument from analogy. "As a mere analogy it has weight, but it is more than analogy. It surpasses analogy exactly as induction surpasses it. It is an inductive argument. . . . I think it must be allowed that in the present state of our knowledge, the adaptations in

nature afford a large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence." (Nature, 170). But then he found himself confronted by the fact that this intelligent Creator had, among His other works, produced evil, or at least, that evil was there. If God, therefore, was all good, He could not be all powerful, or He would have destroyed evil. The only apparent escape from this unpleasant conclusion is to deny the existence of evil. But how is this to be done in the face of our sad experience? We do not require any process of reasoning to convince us that the world is full of disappointment, calamity and pain: we are all sharers in the universality of suffering. What we seek at the hands of our teachers is a medicine for our misery. If they cannot mitigate the woe that awaits us all, sooner or later, can they not show, at least, that it is not meant to crush us with a sense of impotence oppressed by injustice; can they not supply an anodyne?

The problem is, at least, stated by them. Among the most reasonable of modern consolers, Alexander Pope—the questionable poet of Bowles—undertook its examination with an art that—in spite of Wordsworth—has never been surpassed:

"Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine, Earth for whose use? Pride answers, 'Tis for mine"

But Pope insists that this is a mistake of our Pride. He remembers pestilence, earthquake, hurricane, in which are lost in a moment the hopes and works, the passions and the persons of the fragile creatures who thought the world their own; and this is his conclusion:—

"From pride, from pride, our very reasoning springs;
Account for moral, as for natural, things;
Why charge we heaven in those, in these acquit?
In both, to reason right, is to submit."

The diagnosis is correct, though it fails to do more, and cannot suggest the cure. So long as man adopts the autocentric position he is beyond remedy; for his disease is himself. If he was meant to be the lord of the manor, his title-deeds are not fulfilled:—

"If the great end be human happiness, Then nature deviates."

An indictment of Nature to which she seems not to plead.

Shall judgment go by default?

From different points of view, great thinkers in Germany and in England were ready with demurrers, and sprang forward to the defence; yet neither Leibnitz or Butler satisfied the minds of the time, because they could not spring far enough, being bound by the Ptolemean heresy, retained by the fees of teleology. The events which followed the appearance of the *Théodicée* were not, perhaps, more full of suffering

than those of the preceding years: but civilization was beginning to bring more discontent, less submission; though such disasters as the crises of Law's finance in France, and the South Sea bubble in England, showed that man's own follies and selfishness might have as much to do with his unhappiness as anything else. At length, soon after the middle of the century, occurred an event which reminded the inhabitants of Europe, that in any case they had by no means a monopoly of evil, but were still at the mercy of blind and resistless forces. The earthquake of Lisbon in a few hours destroyed a prosperous commercial city, extinguished ten thousand helpless lives, and drove the survivors into the fields, without food or shelter. . . . What was man now? Instead of being the master of a fair estate, only endangered by his own remediable faults, man seemed to be a mere parasite, pullulating on the surface of a planet in a certain-or uncertain-stage of her refrigeration.

It was in this state of affairs that the two best European writers of the day came forward, each with his attempt at the solution of the obstinate enigma. In 1759 appeared the two tales of Johnson and Voltaire, similar in their general purpose, yet most unlike in their similarity. There was the same courageous good sense and hate of cant, the same prodigal abundance of wit and of imagination. But how superior is the attempt of the Englishman, in temper and earnestness. Not less aware than the Frenchman of the dangers which beset our lives, he is equally unable to prescribe a panacea. Yet in his very lamentations he has some balm to offer: he feels the need of self-control, the grievous peril of unmeasured murmuring. Humble towards God, full of sympathy for man, without mocking or repining, he offers his anæsthetics in the spirit of a true physician, where the other mingles the antics of a jester

with the maxims of a frigid pathology.

We know that neither Rasselas nor Candide afforded the word of the enigma. The former ends with a chapter which its author himself admits to be "a conclusion in which nothing is concluded." After showing that pleasure and commerce, society and solitude, and all human situations, end alike in dissatisfaction, yet unwilling to leave characters in whom he had created, and felt, a benevolent interest, entirely unhelped, how does Johnson provide for his mind's offspring?

"Peknah was weary of expectation and disgust; and would gladly be fixed in some invariable state. The Princess thought that, of all sublunary things, knowledge was the best. . . . The Prince desired a little kingdom . . . Of the wishes that they had formed, they well knew that none could be ob-

tained."

Thus the nearest approach to happiness which the English author could imagine, appears to be found in hopeless aspiration. Voltaire, for his part, seems for a moment to place his ideal in work. The first part of Candide conducts the characters of that story—less interesting, one would hope, to most readers—to the little pistachio-farm on the Propontis, and bids them cultivate their garden. But Candide, for one, cannot stop there; and all his subsequent wanderings only end in a somewhat sordid felicity in which duty has no part, and the hero can only live "in as much tranquillity" as married life allows. Nothing comes of the task in which the author had the choice of materials and a free hand in treatment. Horace had summed all up eighteen centuries before—

"Hard is man's lot: but what he may not cure Is lightened by the patience to endure."

We are now in a great strait, like the Israelites of old. No arms are left us; and, as they went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his share, so we are fain to whet our wits with proverbs. What cannot be cured must be endured—?

Not so, it may be answered; there is no "must" in the matter: the conclusion of impotence is not patience, but despair, and the end of despair is suicide. So, if we choose to say we will neither cure nor endure, who is to prevent us?

Peace, peace; it is no more in pessimism than in optimism

that peace is to be found.

asks Cowper—who, by the bye, tried to do so more than once, if all stories be true. Von Hartmann, the invalided artillery captain of Berlin, drolly contests the conclusions of his predecessor and teacher, Schopenhauer; asking him how he knows that this is the worst of all possible worlds? Bad enough, in all conscience, thinks Captain Hartmann; but you cannot tell that there is no worse until you have tried; and it may be as well to put off the trial as long as you can. If this be the last word of pessimism, we are as far off from being cured as ever.

Is there, then, no possible rest for our perturbed spirits; no possible synthesis in which may be reconciled a sense of man's helplessness in the hands of Nature, with a belief in God's infinite power and goodness? Are we to sink helplessly down, convinced that we are delivered over to Ahriman? Christianity, to be sure, does answer this inquiry, but not in a way that altogether suits our case. We are furnished by the Church with an explanation which has certainly produced characters of a lofty and lovely type. Ahriman, it must be suspected, is the Prince of this World, and the faithful will find it their interest as well as their duty to defeat his machinations by giving up

this world, in hopes of a better one hereafter. This is religion—so far as it goes—and, when combined with active benevolence and human sympathy, it has inspired a Charles Gordon, a François de Sales, and many another saint and true hero. But such flights are beyond the power of most of us; and, indeed, it may be doubted whether a very large increase of such persons would be advantageous to the needs of a work-a-day world. What is to be recommended to the daily use of the ordinary citizen, desiring to lead a wholesome, well regulated

life of mundane activity?

We may, perhaps, find some clue still among the poets, to some of whom we have been already indebted. " Poets," says Shelley, "are the unacknowledged legislators of the world," -he might have added "its unfeed physicians." "The Defence of Poetry," of which the sentence here cited is the conclusion, is the last considerable piece of prose which this progressive minded young man ever produced. In 1820-at the very period of the Bowles controversy-Shelley's friend, Peacock, had contributed to Ollier's Literary Miscellany an essay called "The Four Ages of Poetry," in which he had expressed an opinion that the decadence of poetry was marked by a blind worship of Nature, shown in gaping admiration and elaborate description of her phenomena. Shelley seems to have been stung by this into an apology for the famous band of which he was one. But he did not—so far as he was permitted to carry out his intention—attack Peacock's main principle. On the contrary, in a private letter to that writer (dated March 21st, 1821), he tells him: "I have taken a more general view of what poetry is than you have, and you will, perhaps, agree with several of my positions, without considering your own touched."

It is very interesting to observe the measured language in which Shelley, in that essay, expresses the ardent enthusiasm which the poetry of humanity excited in his mind. He does not refer to the word-painting of Byron, or to the more persistent Nature-worship of Wordsworth. But he asserts that "a poem is the very image of life, expressed in its eternal truth." Taking up Hamlet's figure of "the purpose" of the drama, he says that "poetry is a mirror which makes beautiful that which is distorted." The refinement of sexual relations, the power of courage, the victory of suffering; such were the subjects which Shelley found characteristic of the greatest poetry; and he claimed the most permanent utility for his beloved art.

"There are," he says, "two kinds of pleasure, one durable, universal, the other transitory and particular. Utility may either express the means of producing the former or the latter. In

the former sense, whatever strengthens and purifies the affections, enlarges the imagination, and adds spirit to sense, is useful."

Can this be done by dealing with the world merely as it is? No. Though nothing in God's world may be absolutely wrong, there is much that, for us, is relatively evil: much

also that our own imperfection makes imperfect.

"The functions of the poetic faculty are twofold; by one it creates new materials of knowledge and power and pleasure; by the other it engenders in the mind a desire to reproduce and arrange them according to a certain rhythm and order, which may be called the beautiful and the good Poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds. It makes us the inhabitants of a world to which the familiar world is a chaos. It reproduces the common universe of which we are portions and percipients, and it purges from our inward sight the film of familiarity which obscures for us the wonder of our being. It creates anew the universe."

In such thoughts as these we seem at last to find the way to our desired reconciliation. Happiness for the mind is not to be sought in blindly following the promptings of matter. The last word of the first part of Candide is the last word of the whole question; the continuation, like so many continuations, is a mistake. We must cultivate our garden. The forces of Nature are before us, to be used or not at our pleasure and, also, at our peril. If we have become owners of a garden which has been won from Nature by the labours of our predecessors, we must maintain it by similar exertions. If not, those forces are always at work, neither for us nor against us, but at work. Man is not the master, or the centre of the solar system; but the solar system will serve him if he knows how to avail himself of its service. Heat and electricity and the mysterious agent we call "life," are all in constant operation. Let us work also, for if these things work without us, we shall in the end find ourselves cast out. The earthquake and the hurricane, the panic fear that loses armies, the pestilence that lays waste the streets of cities, are not good—but neither are they evil; they are only parts of a constant cosmic activity with which we have to reckon. We must not presume to find fault with our Maker; but say, with the smitten patriarch; "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

Through all that has been here said there runs the constant fallacy of personification. But this habit has become so general, that we may, perhaps, hope for pardon in following it. Our last instance is the author of *In Memoriam*. No one has more forcibly imagined the mighty power which is being

considered in these pages as the contrast to Man, and often his betrayer:—

"Are God and Nature, then, at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.

So careful of the type? But no:
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone;
I care for nothing; all shall go.'...

Man, her last work, who seemed so fair, Such splendid purpose in his eyes, Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies, Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed,
And love, Creation's final law,
Though Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shrieked against his creed.

But, surely, there is confusion here; surely God may still be love, if Man can be shown not to be wholly the work of ravenous Nature. The personification of Nature is carried too far when the word is taken as a synonym of the Creator; it will only be useful if we take it to mean the Non-Ego (as the metaphysicians say); in other words, the part of the Creation which has no apparent self-consciousness; which (relatively to us) exists, but which can never say—" cogito; ergo sum" The matter of our body may belong to the ravenous Gorgon; she may even have dominion over its instinctive impulses and its untrained desires; but we ought to think of ourselves as including another element besides.

If man himself be, as was hinted, his own disease, the cure must rest, ultimately, with himself. Not in a blind worship of brute matter; not even in idle indulgence to the spontaneous moods of desire; but in love of right, and the formation of virtuous habits.

Without perplexing ourselves with the never ending inquiry into the freedom of the will, let us admit that our wisest course is to live as if our will were proved to be free. The doctrine of predestination is not peculiar to any place or time; everywhere, in all ages, religion and philosophy have agreed that human conduct depends—more or less—on predetermined causes, and—more or less, again—affects human fortune. Like Proteus, this belief assumes all sorts of disguises. Under the pressure of his own temperament and experiences, Augustin established the doctrine in a way which left nothing for the Calvinists to do, but to apply it to the changed modes of modern thought: the founder of Islam adopted it: in our own day it has re-appeared in science under the name of "heredity." Yet in all times men have spoken and acted as if they had some share in shaping

the execution of these arbitrary decrees. Perhaps the nearest approach to a solution of the contradiction so produced by the struggle of feeling and logic, is that offered by the Spanish Moslem, Averrhoes:—

"We are free to act in this way or that; but our will is always governed by some external cause. . These causes exist according to a certain order of things which is founded on

the general laws of the world."

But, although this connection of our wills with governing causes—among which must be recognised that capitalised stock of ancestral experience which goes by the name of "character," or instinct—seems to subject us to Nature, that is not altogether so. On the contrary, it can be shown, by an appeal to the history of the past, and even by examining our own lives, that there is in man a force which constantly contends against nature, and sometimes with success. And that success-however small its measure—constitutes the progress of mankind. We have tamed fire and lightning to our service; out of the darkness and the shapelessness of the mine, we have brought minerals and metals to adorn and improve our existence; of the forest we make a field or a garden. And, in exactly the same manner, we are sometimes able to tame the passions of ourselves and others; to make of the robber a brave soldier for the defence of his country, to elevate the solitary into the saint; out of the crude materials of sin and suffering, to produce not alone pity and self-control, but all the civic virtues also.

Hence we may surely conclude, that, for the truly wise, evil is but a bugbear. There is no Ahriman but Nature, or,—to speak more accurately—the material universe; and it is only hostile so long as it is not subdued. Conquered, it becomes friendly and even serviceable; at the worst, harmless. The earthquake and the hurricane are defeated by living away from the scenes of their violence, or by building our houses in the manner shown by experience to be least exposed to its effects. Panic is prevented by discipline; pestilence is subdued by sanitation and regimen. Of our own faults we may make the implements of our activity and the materials of our welfare. The pain that still baffles our efforts, remains as a teacher of humility and of charity: the undeveloped London of 1755 sent one hundred thousand pounds to help

the survivors of the Lisbon calamity.

Nature is not hostile, however indifferent. The shows of the world are made by us, though the things that they signify be not made for us. The vast spaces of the heaven in which our planet turns are full of other orbs; our planet is not essential to their life; yet, so long as she exists, they are all connected by the tie of gravitation. We, too, are necessary so VOL, XCV.]

long as we are, and no longer: let us act accordingly. The plants in the meadow do not blossom for our pleasure, but we can take pleasure in their blooming; and, if we transplant them into our gardens and cultivate them there, our pleasure will be increased by so doing. The birds do not sing for me, but I can go where they sing with ears and heart open, and make of them the minstrels of my entertainment Let us not wait for Nature to come to us with unbought joys: Nature will never come; and joys are not to be had for nothing. The price of happiness is renunciation. Once persuade yourself of your own unimportance, and the step to contentment is not wide or difficult.

There remains the fact of death: Linquenda tellus et domus et placens uxor. For that reason, make the most of them while they are yours. Death is absent from life: why should what is absent be a trouble? It is the famous paradox of the Epicurean—When we are, death is not: when death is, we are not."

"The last enemy that shall be overcome is Death," and what is Death to one who has lived well?

"Why should we fear to die? 'Tis natural, easy, And little children tread its paths before us."

So said Beaumont and Fletcher; and the thought was concisely enforced in Schiller's last words;—"Death cannot be an evil—for it is universal." Man and Nature are alike God's work; but one was not made for the other. Nature seeks the survival of the fittest. Man's noblest duty is to protect the weak. Nature tends to havoc; Man has the faculty of order. Happy is the being that owns such a mighty servant. But it is the part of the servant to obey; and the master who fails to enforce obedience is lost.*

H. G. KEENE.

As a solution of the problem, which, as we understand it, is to reconcile the existence of evil with the perfect benevolence of an Omnipotent Creator and Ruler, our contributor's conclusion is, we fear, equally lame and impotent with those which he criticises. What he shows is, not that evil has no real existence—he admits the contrary—, but that it is in the power of Man, if he is fortunate, to mitigate it.

This is, no doubt, consolatory to the fortunate; but it leaves the problem untouched. It cannot even be seriously contended that it is Man's fault that he can do no more than this, and often cannot do so much. To say that "the earthquake and hurricane are defeated by living away from the scenes of their violence," if it is anything more than a bitter pleasantry, is surely the merest sophistry. Were the people of Lisbon to blame, that they did not quit the doomed city before the great earthquake which they could not foresee? But, even if it could be shown that Man is to blame, whether on account of ignorance, or of negligence, or of any other defect, for all the evil which he suffers, the questions would still remain, Why there should be evil to require mitigation? and why there should be defects to prevent its mitigation? The law of polarity—to which Mr. Keene does not refer—does not help us; for to assume that good can exist only by contrast with, or as a correlate of, evil, is to impose upon the power of the Deity limits which are excluded by the problem. And similar reasoning applies to the hypothesis of a law of

compensation, in whatever form. Nor, again, is a satisfactory answer to be found in the theory of a higher purpose; for an Omnipotent God could accomplish any purpose of which the infliction of pain was not itself a part, without the aid of evil There is clearly no alternative between the abandonment of the problem, as insoluble by human reason, and the surrender of the belief in a conjunction of perfect

benevolence with Omnipotence in Nature.

The history of organic nature, as far as human reason can read it, is the history of a perpetual striving after adaptation to an ever-changing environment. Adaptation not being instantaneous and unerring, but gradual and tentative, it can, at the best, never be perfect, but must be ever "toiling after time." Evil would seem to be synonymous with defective adaptation, the degree of the defect depending upon the magnitude and frequency of the changes in the environment, relatively to the plasticity of the organism. Where these changes are relatively gradual, there progressive adaptation may be expected. Where they are violent, there we may look for progressive maladaption, culminating, if continued, in destruction.

So far as unaided human reason can interpret the operations of Nature, the conclusion to which they point would seem to be that, if one All-Comprehensive Purpose works in them, then it is a Purpose which has reference to the whole, and not to the parts, except in their relation to the whole—to the All-self, and not to the individual consciousness, except as contributing to the All-self. If individual feelings are among the instruments through which that Purpose acts, or are among its manifestations, yet they exist not in, or for, themselves, but are merely incidental

to the general scheme.

E pur si mueve: - But it might be suggested that the explanation of the mystery, so far as it can be formulated, or conceived, in terms of human reason, lies in the fact that. Nirvana—not the absence of conciousness, but a state consciousness exempt alike from pleasure and pain—a sense of perfect satisfaction—being the eternal purpose of the All-self, polarity—or, in other words, the equivalence, on the physical side, of action and re-action, and, on the physical side, of good and evil—is the inevitable condition of all movement.

If it be asked, then: Why movement at all? the only answer possible to human reason is, that movement is the condition of all consciousness, or rather, that consciousness and motion are two aspects of one thing, and that, consequently, without it,

there could have been no self-realisation of the All; no All-self.

It is not pretended that this suggestion offers a reconciliation of human ideas which are essentially incompatible. What it suggests is rather that the ideas themselves are meaningless in relation to the All-self—that Omnipotence, in the sense in which the term is used by man, and out of which the incompatibility arises, is a purely anthropomorphic conception. What do we mean by it, but the power of overcoming all conceivable resistance? But we cannot predicate liability to resistance, in the only sense in which we can conceive of it, i. e. resistance ab extere, of that which comprehends in Itself all being. Neither, on the other hand, while we conceive of the All-comprehending as subject to the Law of His own being, can we regard such subjection as limiting His perfection, seeing that the Law itself is part of His being.

Whether our knowledge of organic chemistry, on the goind hand, or of the relation between chemical composition to physiological action, on the other, is sufficiently advanced in justify this attitude, is a question which cannot be discussed the length here. We all know the rank which the verdict of each mon experience assigns to the cyster among nutritious for and many of us know the very humble position in the same sent to which chemical analysis would degrade it. For my two put am disposed to prefer the verdict of experience as to what actually takes place, to that of the chemist as to what ought to take place; and so, if I were to find, from trial, that the slove of a snake, or the humour of a tood's eye, stimulated the grow of a plant in a degree which no agricultural chemist would selected to accept the

ART. XI-THE BHAVISHYA PURANA ON MANURES.

I AM indebted to Babu Purnendu Narayan Sinha, M.A., B.L., for a translation of part of an extremely curious chapter

on manures from the Bhavishya Purana.

It is strange, the translator remarks, that, in an agricultural country like India, while a great deal is said about plants and their habits, culture and uses in several of the Puranas, as well as in the Mahabharata and works on medicine, the experiences of a hundred generations in the practice of agriculture were never embodied in any regular treatise; and he suggests that the reason of this may be that the Vaisyas, who, during the period of Hindu supremacy, were the only tillers of the soil, never formed a literary class, while it was not until a very degenerate period in their history that the Brahmans took to agriculture as an occupation. The chapter of the Bhavishya Purana in question, however, if it shows nothing else, shows that a vast amount of attention of a very minute kind has, from a remote period, been given to a branch of the subject which is commonly supposed to have been almost entirely neglected by the Indian cultivator.

Scientific agriculturists will probably smile at what they will consider the far-fetched ingredients and fantastic combinations prescribed in some of the recipes given by the writer in the Bhavishya, though, it may be suspected, he will be able to assign no better reason for his contempt than a general prejudice against empiricism, or a belief cognate with that which leads the scientific pharmaceutist of the day to search for what he conceives to be the active principle in complex bodies that have been ascertained to possess therapeutic properties, with a

view to its exhibition in a pure state.

Whether our knowledge of organic chemistry, on the one hand, or of the relation between chemical composition and physiological action, on the other, is sufficiently advanced to justify this attitude, is a question which cannot be discussed at length here. We all know the rank which the verdict of common experience assigns to the oyster among nutritious foods, and many of us know the very humble position in the same scale to which chemical analysis would degrade it. For my own part I am disposed to prefer the verdict of experience as to what actually takes place, to that of the chemist as to what ought to take place; and so, if I were to find, from trial, that the slough of a snake, or the humour of a toad's eye, stimulated the growth of a plant in a degree which no agricultural chemist would be likely to predict, or could explain, I am prepared to accept the

fact humbly, and to avail myself of it, without waiting for his sanction, and undeterred by his scorn. It is probable enough that many of the manures commended by the Bhavishya Purana possess as little real special merit as apparent reasonableness, and that others contain ingredients which might be rejected without any sacrifice of their efficacy. But in all such cases, where there is any show of positive testimony, and where experiment can break no bones, solvitur ambulando is, perhaps,

the most reasonable rule of action.

The chapter of the Bhavishya Purana from which the following information is gleaned, is a long one; and it treats, among other things, of the duties of pious Hindus to plant trees for the public good, enjoining them not merely to do so, but to make every effort to promote their growth and increase their yield of fruit and flowers. This leads up to the subject of Many of the recipes given have special reference to arboriculture, while in the case of others, it is clear, from the character of the manures, or the mode of applying them, recommended by the writer, that he has garden, rather than field, cultivation in view Thus, the first manure described consists of the dead bodies of animals, and especially of birds, which have been thoroughly decomposed and "reduced to earth," and which, as well as liquid manure, made by steeping powdered barley and cow-dung in water, should be applied to the roots of the plants, a mode of treatment which, it is stated, is sure largely to increase their yield. Then comes a recipe for a mixed manure composed of the seeds of mung (Phaseolus mungo), mash kalai (Max), til (Sesamum Indicum) and barley, which have been buried under ground, also to be applied to the roots. These manures, it is added, should be used for a whole week, and should be applied once a day, in the afternoon, only in the winter, but twice daily, morning and evening, in other seasons.

Another combination recommended, as highly conducive to the nourishment of plants, is the gall of the Rehu fish, mixed

with the husk of paddy.

Then we come to two special manures, the first, consisting of the juice of the sugarcane in which tamarind seeds have been steeped and well squeezed, for mango trees, which, when treated with it, are said to bear a good crop; and the other, cocoanut milk, mixed with iron pyrites, which is said to be a good manure for all plants, but specially so for those of the palm order.

A manure which is extolled as always successful with mango and jack trees is the dung of goats, buffaloes and cows, mixed with the seeds of bokul (Mimusops elengi) and applied to the roots. The next recipe, which is said to produce a good manure for all plants, and one which will even restore them

from a withering and dying condition, is more elaborate. The womb of a sheep is to be filled with seeds of mash kalai and til and then the whole is to be ground fine with roots of the areca palm. This, one would think, if the sheep is to be killed for the purpose, would be a somewhat expensive manure, though, if its virtues are not exaggerated, not too expensive to be worth

using for the purpose of saving a valuable fruit tree.

A recipe for a fumigating mixture for mango trees is next given. It savours of polypharmacy, and is composed of the leaves of satmuli (Asparagus racemosus), neem, Boerhavia diffusa, Alstonia scholaris, and the drug Kshirikakoli, which should be burnt under the trees for three days, and the roots freely exposed to the smoke. The fumigation, it is said, preserves the plants and fruit from insects and promotes the sweetness of the fruit.

A number of substances are named for which special virtues are claimed in reference to particular trees, viz., water in which fish has been steeped, for increasing the yield of mango trees; the juice of mangoes as a stimulant for pomegranate trees; a manure made from the decomposed dead bodies of snakes, mixed with milk, for the Ketaki plant (Pandanus odoratissimus), a manure made from date-palms (what part of the palms, or how prepared, is not specified by the translator); for the Karenda tree (Carissa Carandas) and the Gab (Diospyrus glutinosa); putrid flesh, with or without the addition of ghee, for promoting the fertility of the cocoanut palm, when scattered on the ground round it. The latter preparation, it is added, becomes good for the jasmine, if it is further mixed with molasses and liquorice juice.

The birang plant (Ambilia) is said to bear flowers more abundantly when it is supplied with water in which sandal-wood, or the flesh of the tortoise, has been washed, or when the slough of snakes has been burnt under it; and the same

treatment is said to be beneficial to most shrubs.

There is nothing very novel in the information that paddy thrives when manured with the refuse of cow-sheds; but most Europeans will probably be surprised to learn that it is also benefited by the slough of serpents, mixed with resin,

being burnt in the fields.

The excrement of rats, "moistened with dew," is strongly recommended for the destruction of brushwood and weeds, while, at the same time, it is said to increase the fertility of the soil; but, as a preliminary to the collection of the material, we are told, the rat's hole should be fumigated with smoke produced by burning peacock's feathers, goats hair, castor-oil, and asafætida. Whether the object of this precaution is to drive out the rats, or whether it is supposed to increase the virtues of the excrement, we are not informed.

It is noteworthy, Babu Purnendu Naryan Sinha remarks, that most of these manures have ceased to be used at the present day; and several of them are of a kind which, in spite of the authority of the Purana, would probably be repugnant to Hindu feeling. It may be added that a vast amount of curious, and-some of it-probably useful, lore exists among Indian cognoscenti in the art of fruit and flower growing, much of it referring to the little studied subject of plant therapeutics, which might repay collection; while, as to general agriculture, it is a matter for surprise and regret that we should still be without anything worthy of the name of "a regular treatise" embodying the experience of "a hundred generations" of Indian cultivators. The compilation of such a work, or a series of such works, for different parts of the country, is surely a task well worthy of the attention of Indian scholars and of the patronage of the Government.

to meet in Conference for the discussion of the Silver Then, the Behri en Son lephentes einfamiles has been cally settled, after a great dod of blust con the percent Americans, Lord Sailtharp's Arbitation Trapy during ratified by the Santa and the mean vices if extended. Sultan's Firmen has been promulated in Haygi a i a bliff U a I has while a word commellib beautions is community the Danking of Amilian at 17 aw Order been established by the proposes of a solutional balls and p latter Power. There has been a meeting between the Carithe Emparer of Generaly at Copeninger, which protende jowards punce, and the Carring been more n of the German Mays, while is t Drange A still take that of the cornaal trans, thine for bronze and the tot of the state of the In the House of Comments, to a Government Small Holdings and Clargy Di cipling bills have been and a third, and the Idi-Education Bill a second, time, while the Bride Local Gavesment bill, which had also been read a second dins-by the anappearably large residity of nines-two-, has been vide drawn, for showing, per able, as early discount forces in the billion of an bean video been rejected, in point maniform the billion of the bean video been rejected, in point maniform the billions of the bean of the billions of the billi All : Engine Lunar homitrows said to the out no died and yet it's motion for the payment of Montess; Dr. Cuacion's notion in favour of Dissiablishment in Moodand; IIn Shaw-Lefevre's Bill to abelich plural value and Bir A. Relling Woman's Suffree Bills of Loid Balistay has made a starting

THE QUARTER.

I is not always the most important events that are the most striking, and, though little has occurred in the world of politics in the past three months that is entitled to be called memorable, a good deal has happened in a quiet way that may be expected to exercise more than a mere

passing influence on the course of history.

To take first what possesses special interest for this country, the Indian Councils Bill, has been read a third time in the House of Commons, and the great Powers, including England, have accepted the invitation of the United States to meet in Conference for the discussion of the Silver Question. Then, the Behrings Sea Fisheries difficulty has been practically settled, after a great deal of bluster on the part of the Americans, Lord Salisbury's Arbitration Treaty having been ratified by the Senate and the modus vivendi extended. The Sultan's Firman has been promulgated in Egypt, and the awkward difference between Italy and the United States, in connection with the lynching of Italians at New Orleans, has been settled by the payment of a substantial indemnity by the latter Power. There has been a meeting between the Czar and the Emperor of Germany at Copenhagen, which probably tends towards peace, and the Czar has been made an admiral of the German Navy, while, lest France should take umbrage at these proceedings, the Duke Constantine has, at the same time, been showing himself at Nancy. There have been at least three important trials of members of the great Anarchist conspiracy, two of them in England, and all resulting in convictions, if not in condign punishments.

In the House of Commons, the Government Small Holdings and Clergy Discipline Bills have been read a third, and the Irish Education Bill a second, time, while the Irish Local Government Bill, which had also been read a second time—by the unexpectedly large majority of ninety-two—, has been withdrawn, foreshadowing, probably, an early dissolution. Among important Bills, or motions, which have been rejected, may be mentioned the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, which was opposed by Mr. Burt on the part of the Northumberland miners; Mr. Fenwick's motion for the payment of Members; Dr. Cameron's motion in favour of Disestablishment in Scotland; Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's Bill to abolish plural voting, and Sir A. Rollit's Woman's Suffrage Bill. Lord Salisbury has made a startling

speech, in favour of retaliatory duties on luxuries, at Hastings; and Mr. Curzon has announced, on behalf of the Government. that the Home Secretary is seriously considering what steps can be taken to deal with the question of alien labour; while Mr. Gladstone, speaking at a Radical Meeting at Farringdon Street, has re-affirmed the entire Newcastle programme. The last few weeks have been marked by a distinct turn in the tide of popular feeling, which, for some time previously, had been flowing too obviously in favour of the Opposition; and unmistakeable symptoms of a decay of Mr. Gladstone's popularity have shown themselves simultaneously in several unexpected quarters. There has been a ministerial crisis in Italy, where the Rudini Cabinet has given place to one under Signor Giolitti, and another in Greece, and May day has come and gone peacefully, not to say tamely, both in England and on the Continent.

To many sanguine persons it will probably appear that, for the world at large, by far the most important of the above events is the consent of the Great Powers to meet in Conference. for the purpose of seeing what, if anything, can be done to rehabilitate silver. We cannot look at the matter in this light. On the contrary, we think it practically certain that the Conference will either break up without coming to any understanding, or, at the best, terminate in an agreement to recommend the Powers concerned to join in some small scheme for the coinage of a little more silver for subsidiary currency purposes, a step which would have no permanent effect of moment on the price of the metal. We think this, not because bi-metallism, in the sense of the free coinage of silver and gold at a fixed ratio, is impossible, if a sufficient number of the great commercial countries of the world can be got to combine together for the purpose, but because the decision of the matter rests with men who, by entering into such a combination, would be cutting their own throats and the throats of those whose interests they represent.

If the decision rested with a single Power, or with the whole world voting as one Power, the case might be different; for there would then be at least a possibility of its being settled by the vote of the working-man, and the working-man would, no doubt, on the whole, be benefited, though not so much as he might expect, by bi-metallism. Whatever might be the ultimate effect of attaching any considerable artificial value to silver in the currencies of the world, one of its first effects would be inflation on an indefinite scale, implying a far-reaching redistribution of purchasing power in favour of gold debtors, as against gold creditors; of producers in general, and producers of silver in particular, as against consumers in general,

and consumers with fixed incomes in particular; of labour, as against capital; of all the world, more or less, as against England, and of America, as against the rest of the world.

To suppose that the representatives of the Powers who will sit in the coming Conference, and who will follow the lead of England, will consent, with their eyes open, to such a scheme, is to suppose that they have taken leave of their senses.

Silver will, probably, some day have its revenge; for the population of the world will some day probably be doubled, and require at least twice as much silver as at present, to say nothing of the certainty that the mines are not inexhaustible; but this eventuality will hardly affect the present generation. The only importance of the Conference is likely to be of a sinister character. It will impart a temporary stimulus to the silver-market, and consequently to the production of the metal; and this will be followed, when its result becomes known, by a heavier fall than has yet occurred, which will cause wide-spread disturbance of monetary and commercial relations, and among the sufferers from this disturbance India will hold a

prominent place.

While on this subject, we may mention that an Association, called the 'Indian Currency Association,' has been started at Simla for the purpose of getting up a petition to Parliament, praying for a free hand for the Government of India to introduce a gold standard, in case of the failure of the Conference, and of otherwise urging the necessity of such a measure on the Powers that be. As it will be much more difficult to introduce a gold standard, or adopt any other remedy, after the failure of the Conference, than it would be now, it is not quite clear why the Association should make their prayer contingent on such a result, the less so, that, judging for their prospectus, they regard it as a foregone conclusion. We can only suppose that, between the date of the framing of the prospectus and that of the drafting of the memorial, they have been induced to surrender their judgment to that of the financial advisers of the Government, who still entertain sanguine notions regarding the prospects of the Conference, and possibly think that any such step as that contemplated by the Association, if taken in the meanwhile, would tend to mar them.

Really the most important feature in the history of the period under review is probably the marked change in the feeling of the British public towards Mr. Gladstone to which we have referred above. Whether Mr. Gladstone has begun at last to feel the necessity of doing something to show that he still possesses some remnant of political conscience, or whether, as the time for going to the polls draws near, he shrinks from the terrible position in which success, under

present conditions, would place him, or whether, again, he merely over-estimates the strength of his hold on the masses, certain it is that he has suddenly developed a capacity for resisting the temptation to angle for votes at the expense of candour, altogether foreign to his later habits. On at least three occasions lately, he has braved the displeasure of more or less important sections of his supporters for the sake of principle. One of these was when, in terms of somewhat cold politeness, he begged to be excused from receiving a deputation of the London Trades Council, to discuss the eight hours question; another was when he pronounced against female suffrage, and the third was when he administered a severe rebuke in the House of Commons to Mr. Lloyd George and his friends for their factious opposition to the Clergy Discipline Bill. In each and all of these cases his action has excited an amount of resentment which, in itself, shows that he no longer commands the same blind worship from his supporters as he did not many years, or even months, ago. The "wild women," perhaps, do not count for much; and the anger of the Welsh Non-conformists is, probably, a little artificial; but the indignation of the labour party, which has been expressed in no measured language by the delegates of the Trades Union in meeting assembled, by Mr. Ben Tillett at West Bradford, and by John Burns at Battersea, is a much more important affair.

One of the delegates at the first-named meeting actually went the length of proposing that Mr. Gladstone's letter should be burned, and at a subsequent meeting of the Trades Unionists a resolution was passed, regretting his action, and pledging members to vote only for candidates who would support an eight hours bill. Mr. Ben Tillett declared that Mr. Gladstone had snubbed, and Mr. Morley insulted, the labour

party, and John Burns used still stronger language.

It was, no doubt, in the jubilant mood caused by these signs of the times, that Lord Salisbury made up his mind to tickle the ears of the working-man—which expression has come to exclude the agricultural labourer—by the suggestions thrown out in his Fair Trade speech at St. Leonards. What Lord Salisbury proposed was that, while continuing to admit food and raw materials free, England might levy duties on such mere matters of luxurious consumption as wines, spirits, gloves, lace and the like. "I should not in the least shrink," he said, "from diminishing consumption and interfering with the comfort of the excellent people who consume these articles of luxury, for the purpose of maintaining our rights in this commercial war, and of insisting on our rights of access to the markets of our neighbours." This language about rights is rather grandiose than apposite, since it is not foreign

countries that have objected to England insisting on her rights, but the majority of the population of England who have

voluntarily agreed to forego them.

The speech was probably little more than a mere ballon d'essai; but, even as such, it was a somewhat sorry performance, and not altogether free from danger. So obvious is it that a tax upon luxuries, as a means of retaliation against foreign countries, must be either harmless to those whom it is intended to coerce, and consequently futile, or cruelly unjust to those called upon to pay the price, that, if Lord Salisbury's hearers took him at his word, the effect would most likely be to alarm the classes, without convincing the masses. But a worse danger lies in the encouragement which the speech is likely to give to the industrial section of the community to agitate for one-sided protection on a much more extended scale, which no Conservative Minister could grant without alienating the support

of the agricultural portion of the population.

Lord Salisbury's reception of the deputation in favour of an eight hours working day was, as we have already hinted, sympathetic rather than encouraging. He admitted the desire for more leisure to be an estimable one, as who would not? But he questioned the possibility of gratifying it, except at a cost which the working-man is not prepared to pay. What the working-man wants, is, in fact, an impossibility. The position is very neatly put by a London contemporary: "All men who now work ten hours a day shall work only eight hours for the same wages. There will be a diminished output of commodities, no doubt, to the extent of one-fifth of the whole; but this shall be made up by the employment of one-fifth more workmen who are now idle. These shall work for the same wages as the others, whereby the cost of commodities shall of necessity be increased by one-fifth. But nobody is to pay this increased price; the consumer is to remain still in the happy position which he at present occupies. Happiness, in short, shall be diffused all round, and no one be a ha'porth the worse." Lord Salisbury naturally wanted to know where the additional amount that would be drawn in wages under the scheme was to come from, if the consumer did not pay it. This, of course, the deputation could not tell him. As for the section of the agitators who, discarding all pretence of an altruistic motive, promise that things shall be squared, without disturbing the relations of supply and demand, by the simple expedient of doing as much in eight hours as is done at present in ten, they provoke a somewhat different, but not more encouraging answer, and one which it might be more difficult to put in courteous language.

The Woman's Suffrage question was the occasion of a more

than usually able and interesting debate in the House of Commons on 27th April. The question was treated almost exclusively on the basis of actual fitness and convenience, and, from this point of view, the Noes had very much the best of the argument. Such a mode of treatment was, perhaps, not altogether logical, inasmuch as actual fitness or unfitness, except so far as it arises from ineradicable conditions. the existence of which it might be no easy matter to prove, is not a conclusive test of capabilities. In a matter so eminently depending upon experience as politics, aptitude can hardly be expected in the absence of practice. A more philosophical mode of treatment, however, would probably have led to a similar result. For, supposing the question of potential aptitude to be decided in favour of the sex, there would still remain the further question, which was very much ignored in the debate, whether it is desirable that women should qualify to engage equally with men in the business of politics. We find ourselves unable to escape the conviction that in this respect. as in others, and perhaps more in this than in most respects, division of labour is distinctly favourable both to efficiency and to the happiness of those concerned. It seems to us that a large measure of human happiness depends upon the special charm which woman possesses for man, and that this special charm depends, in its turn, on the existence of a distinct polarity between the sexes, not only physiologically, but mentally and morally. The division, in which, domestic influences aside, every member had a free hand to vote according to his conscience, furnished some remarkable instances of cross-voting. The Bill, proposing as it did, to confine the suffrage to single women, was specially open to criticism; but it is not at all certain that the majority against it-23 in a House of 327 members-would not have been larger had it been a more complete measure.

As, even in the view of the Opposition, Mr. Goschen's Budget offered no opportunity for hostile criticism, it almost necessarily follows that it can possess little interest for the general public. The accounts showed a surplus of something over a million for the past year, and the estimates, one of £224,000 for the current year, tobacco, among other things, having given a substantial increase over the estimates, and tea also having somewhat exceeded expectations. The provision for the year includes an increase of nearly a million and a half on education, and over £600,000 for postal services. The only fiscal change is an equalisation of the duties

on sparkling wines.

The acquiescent attitude of the Front Opposition benches towards the Indian Councils Bill, which is regarded, with

very little reason, as something like a betrayal by the advanced section of the Native community, and which is certainly calculated to damp their ardour, is one among a number of symptoms of a change which has lately been coming over public opinion in England regarding the amount of encouragement that can prudently be given to the political aspirations of the educated Hindu. A multitude of causes have combined to bring about this change, prominent among them being the Manipur outrage, the widespread opposition to the Age of Consent Bill, and, last not least, the circumstances which led to the Bangabasi prosecution and the intemperate

language of Mr. A. O. Hume.

There was practically no opposition to the Bill; and Mr. Schwanns' amendment, to make the introduction of the elective principle obligatory on the Government, was withdrawn, after Mr. Gladstone had spoken in favour of leaving its discretion in the matter wholly unfettered. An amendment of a somewhat superfluous, not to say factious, kind was moved by Mr. J. M. Maclean, with the view of subjecting the regulations which the Government of India might make for the appointment of Additional Members, to the sanction of Parliament, was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and another amendment by Mr. Schwann, to increase the number of the Additional Members of the Viceregal Council from 16

to 40, was also rejected by a large majority.

Beyond enabling the Governor-General to allow the discussion of the Annual Financial Statement and the asking of questions, under certain restrictions, the Bill makes really very little change. The old law provided that there must be six and might be ten Additional Members of the Governor-General's Council. The new law raises the minimum to 12 and the maximum to 16, so that it really secures the appointment of only two more such members than might have been appointed under the old law. It also fixes the number of Additional Members of the Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras at a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 20, and empowers the Governor-General to increase the number of members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to 20, and of that of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to 15.

In fact, it seems to us that one difficulty which the Viceroy is likely to encounter in administering the provisions of the new law, should he determine to introduce the elective principle, will be how to dispose of the small number of Additional memberships available for the purpose, in such a way as to avoid giving rise to great jealousies. Supposing, for instance, he should determine to increase the number of Additional mem-

berships of the Supreme Council to 12, which would be a mean between the maximum and minimum allowed by the Bill, and that he should offer four for election, he would be unable to allot one to each of the Provinces; while, if he should decide to appoint at once the maximum number, and to make half elective, he would still not have enough for the representation of the two principal interests in each Province, viz., land and commerce.

The agitation against the Cadastral Survey of Behar has, to some extent, died down, but is by no means at an end. In the meantime, assurances have been given that operations will not commence till next cold season, and that there is no intention of employing other than village officials, who are to be put through a preliminary course of training for the purpose.

The orders of the Government of India regarding the reconstitution of the Provincial Services, which have been issued during the quarter, are much less revolutionary than was at one time anticipated, and do not even go as far as the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. Instead of 108 higher appointments which the Commission recommended should be reserved for the Provincial Services, it has fixed the number at 86, including those held by Civilians already appointed to the Statutory Service, the abolition of which forms part of the scheme. The change involved is, perhaps, as great as could prudently be made at present; but it is difficult to believe that it is final, and the natives of the country will cer-

tainly not regard it as such.

On the 29th April the Island of Mauritius was visited by one of the most disastrous cyclones on record, which laid the western half of Port Louis in ruins, caused great destruction among the shipping in the harbour and to villages and plantations in the interior, and was attended by heavy loss of life. The wind began to blow a hurricane from the North-east early in the morning, but did not attain such force as to cause serious alarm till about midday, shortly after which the centre seems to have struck the island, bringing with it a storm wave which overflowed the wharves and a portion of the town. Between I and 2 P.M. the usual lull occurred, which lasted an hour and a half; and, under the impression that all danger was past, business was partially resumed, when suddenly the storm began again with redoubled fury, the wind now being from the South-west. It was during this second period of the cyclone that the greater part of the damage was done. Most of the ships in the harbour were driven ashore and many totally wrecked; sugar mills in every direction were overturned; sixteen churches were levelled with the ground and several others unroofed, and most of the houses in the town were

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wrecked, or more or less severely damaged. In the evening, to complete the destruction, a fire broke out among the ruins and consumed a large portion of the suburbs of Port Louis. Among the vessels driven ashore were the British India Steam Navigation Company's steamer "Umballa," and the steamers "Vellore," "Pentakota," "Invertay" and "Amaranthe," all of which were subsequently got off, while the steamer "Albion," which put to sea early in the morning, succeeded in weathering the storm, though with the loss of her boats, hatches and everything moveable above deck. Subscriptions have been opened in England and India for the relief of the sufferers.

In India, until within the last few days, the season has been of the most abnormal character, unprecedentedly high temperatures, accompanied by a low barometer, having prevailed throughout the whole peninsula, except its North-east corner. especially in Upper and Central India. Through all this region rain has been almost entirely wanting, and the spring crops in most parts have been a comparative failure. All immediate apprehension of famine has, however, disappeared with the early advent of the monsoon, which is expected to be a fairly copious The dispersal of the Hurdwar Fair has been followed by a severe epidemic of cholera, which had previously prevailed to an abnormal extent throughout the greater part of the country in a sporadic form. The disease has invaded Cabul and the Valley of Cashmere, in both of which parts the mortality from it has been appalling, and, according to the latest news, it has reached Meshed.

The failure of the New Oriental Bank which suspended payment in London on the 8th instant, was not unexpected in business circles, and had, no doubt, been largely discounted. The causes assigned by the London management for the disaster are the depreciation of silver, the bad condition of trade in China, Japan and Australasia, and the withdrawal of capital in the East. The general opinion, however, seems to be that the collapse is primarily due to imprudent management, and the attempt to occupy a larger field than either the capital of the concern or the experience of the management warranted. The liabilities are stated to amount to five and a half millions; but the latest published accounts would seem to point to a higher figure. It is believed, nevertheless, that the Bank's depositors will be paid in full. The news of the failure caused a temporary run on one or two other Banks, especially in Bombay; but all demands were promptly met, and the panic, which was encouraged by the mischievous remarks of certain newspapers, is considered to have been entirely groundless.

The Government, with what is generally considered unnecessary liberality, have offered the holders of their 4½ per cent. loans the option of converting into the 4 per cents, at par.

Politically, little of special interest has occurred in India during the period under review. The operations undertaken against the Lushais in consequence of the recent raids have been highly successful, as far as it was possible to carry them at so late a period of the season; but it is generally considered that nothing short of wholesale disarmament of the tribes, together with extensive road-making through their country, is likely to put end to these recurrent troubles. which, for some time past, has marked the relations between the Government of India and the Ameer of Cabul, is believed to have recently assumed a somewhat acute form. Among other causes of difference has been the threatening attitude of the Ameer towards Umar Khan of Bajour, in consequence of which Lord Lansdowne felt himself compelled to address a strong remonstrance to the Ameer, who is understood to have replied disavowing any hostile intention towards the Khan. Almost the only other event of moment is the flight of the Rajah of Sikkim and his subsequent capture and surrender to the British authorities by the Nepalese.

It is announced that Sir Roper Lethbridge will avail himself of the occasion of the debate on the Indian Budget, which is expected to take place next week, to draw the attention of the House to the failure of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the late Committee regarding the

grievances of the Uncovenanted Civil Service.

A painful shock has been created in Calcutta Society by the death of Sir Henry Harrison, which, along with that of his second daughter, took place suddenly, from cholera, on the 5th ultimo, at Chittagong, where Sir Henry had gone on inspection duty.

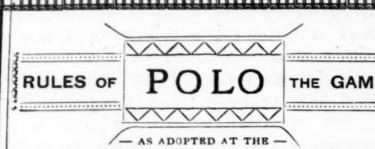
Among personal events of the Quarter are the elevation of of Prince George to the Dukedom of York, and the betrothal of the Princess Marie to the Crown Prince of Roumania. Peerages have also been conferred on Sir H. Selwyn-Ibbetson

and Sir Evelyn Baring.

The obituary of the quarter includes also the names of Lord Bramwell; Sir Charles Butt; Lord Hampden, better known as Mr. Brand, the late Speaker of House of Commons; General Klapka; General Henry Maxwell; Rear Admiral Mayne; Mr. Freeman, the historian; Walt Whitman; Miss Amelia B. Edwards, the novelist and Egyptologist; Dr. Heffmann, the famous chemist; M. Alfred Grevin, the French artist; Professor James Thompson, the engineer; Sir James Fraser, late chief of the City Police; Dr. Cairns; Mr. John Murray, the great publisher; Mr. W. Tayler, late of the Bengal Civil Service, of Patna fame, and Mr. J. B. Sandford, late Judge of Mysore.

June 11, 1982.

J. W. F.



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THE RESERVENCE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Bombay, 1885 to 1890. Study in Indian Administration. By SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K. C. S. I., M.A., (Balliol Coll.), L.L.D. (Cambridge). London: Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, E. C. Bombay: B. M. Malabari, Indian Spectator Office.

ORD Reay was just the sort of Governor to suit Secretariat idiosyncracies; his methods of work being congenial to Secretariat tradition, and facilitating do-nothingness under cover of fuss.

It is natural enough that his Lordship should have seemed to Sir W. W. Hunter a suitable peg on which to hang a panegyric of Indian Secretariats and their system—indirectly, of course. The book is, for all its speciousness, a tolerably transparent partisan attempt at political euthanasia for Lord Reay's meddlings with, and muddlings of, political affairs, which he had

no capacity to understand.

Three hundred years ago, we are told, Lord Reay's ancestors "left Scotland in search of fame and fortune, and took service under the banners of the various princes who were then warring for supremacy on the Continent of Europe;" in other words, forsook their indigenous nationality in favour of others better promising from the soldier of fortune's point of regard. It is a trifle ludicrous to find Lord Reay's biographer insisting on the fact of his Dutch origin as one of his titles to fitness for understanding the Government of a Dependency of the British Crown.

When Lord Reay was sent to Bombay as Governor, he was an untried and unknown man. His friends said he was strong on educational subjects; specially strong on subjects connected with technical education, practical engineering, and so forth. During his five years tenure of office in Bombay, what did he do for anything of the sort? Sir W. W. Hunter, more suo, deems it preliminarily necessary to his view of the situation "to start with some idea of the history of education in India," (and we have several pages of platitudinarian generalisations about education at large, which have but little connexion with the subject. As a matter of fact, though Lord Reay was always fussing and fiddling with Educational projects, he never got much beyond talking about them. Like better known professional politicians, he was a glib talker; and he liked to hear the sound of his own voice. To do him justice, it should be

added that he seldom cared for much beyond the voice. Provided he could say his say, he was not usually concerned as to

whether his counsel was followed, or not

But, as to what Sir W. W. Hunter is pleased to call his Educational Policy,—in a Minute dated 12th August 1885, "he laid weight on the necessity for giving a practical tone to education, with a view of suggesting to the younger generation what they ought to do to become good artisans, good cultivators, etc." Afterwards, in the course of his term of office, he put forth other Minutes couched in the same grandmotherly tone. We are not aware that anything practical, anything real, ever resulted from the gubernatorial Minutings.

In the pressing matter of Engineering, technical, industrial education, "the Governor succeeded . . in arranging with Sir Edward Buck, the Secretary to the Supreme Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Finance, for the appointment of an expert agricultural chemist." Even the expert chemist's services do not appear to have been obtained—unless

perchance Dr. Voelcker is the luminary aimed at.

Sir William Hunter's model Governor was by way of being many-sided too; and thought that an æsthetic side would embellish the lustre of his career. In connection with the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy School of Art—whereat, admittedly "painting, sculpture, architecture, and the decorative arts were being efficiently taught, under the management of Mr. Griffiths, when Lord Reay took up office," he promptly did what in him lay to supersede the satisfactory working of the School by the foundation of a Victoria Jubilee Institute. There was so much fulsome, unconsidered loyalty going a begging about the Jubilce time, and the disease was so infectious, that we may be doing an injustice to Lord Reay in supposing him guilty of the last impertinence charged against him. But noscitur a sociis is a maxim which we feel bound to uphold. It has been suggested to us that it was in his bigoted dislike of culture, which he considered opposed to what he called progress, that Lord Reay opposed the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy School of Art and sought to supplant it with the Victoria Jubilee Institute. We think the explanation is simpler. Root and branch reformers, men who must be reformers per fas et nefas, like to have something substantial, something in the way of bricks and mortar for preference, to show, as visible outcome of their pains.

In this gloss of Dr. Hunter's on contemporary history, the Crawford case and the Mamlutdars' Indemnity Bill—the incidents that alone served to make Lord Reay's tenure of office memorable—are dismissed in less than half a dozen pages, filled mainly with correspondence that has been published over and over again, and is of no more use than last month's Calcutta

Stock and Share quotations. The Calcutta Review has, for a score of years past, borne testimony to Sir W. W. Hunter's diligence, acumen, and success in dealing with problems affecting Indian life and character. It is a disappointment to us, at this eleventh hour, to find an erewhile fairly safe guide to Indian history and character, so wilfully purblind as Sir W. W. Hunter has shown himself in "Bombay, 1885 to 1890."

Resolution in the Municipal Department Reviewing the Report on the Working of Municipalities in Bengal during the year 1890-91.

THERE were 147 Municipalities in existence at the beginning of the year and 145 at its close, and the elective system was in force in all but 28 of them. Elections were held in 113 Corporations. For these public-spirited contests, that are the keynote of the Local Self-Government fugue, the figures rendered are incomplete, because, in some cases, votes were not counted, and, in others, results have not been reported. From the figures available, however, a 39'4 percentage of voting voters is evolved, as against 33.8 in 1887, and amongst ardent patriots the evolution will, no doubt, be interpreted as spelling Progress with a very big P, though the Lieutenant-Governor unkindly observes that in many towns the proportion of voters who appeared at the polls was so small as to deprive the elections of all value as a test of public feeling, and several local officers report that, even where considerable excitement was aroused by the elections, they were fought on purely personal grounds, and without any trace of intelligent public feeling. Creation of intelligence is, accordingly, the task to which Sir Charles Elliott now purposes to apply his energies. Meanwhile, we note that at Serampore, by an error in counting, the candidate who had really obtained the smallest number of votes was declared duly elected, and that, the Advocate-General ruling that nothing could invalidate this declaration, a conflict between the letter and the spirit of the law was imminent, until Sir Charles cut the Gordian knot, and. by a nice derangement of epithets, seated the elect, but unreturned, man as a Government nominee. It having been brought to his Honor's notice that the present practice of holding general elections in the cold weather, which is the time when Municipal works should be carried out, is prejudicial to the public interests, he has taken time to resolve whether it will be more advisable to abolish the cold weather, or to circumvent the difficulty by applying steam-power with a view to the substitution of mustard for castor oil in the tel-butties used in Municipal Offices.

The largest number of meetings held during the year of review was 35 (Cutwa), the lowest 3 (Utterpara and Barh); in

48 Municipalities there were less than the regulation number of meetings, as per section 38 of the Act. Falling away of this sort is reprobated in the Resolution; but it might, we think, be taken into account, when passing judgment in such a case, that the 12 meetings enjoined are for transaction of business, and are not imperative when there is no business to transact. In 83 out of the 147 Municipalities reported on, the average attendance of Commissioners at meetings exceeded 50 per cent.

The Lieutenant-Governor is disappointed to find that Ward Committees have been appointed in only 12 Municipalities, and that in only one of these, Rampore Beauleah, are they said to have done any useful work, while in Patna the Ward Committees are alleged to have made such bad use of the powers conferred upon them, that these powers have been withdrawn by the Municipality. In His Honor's opinion Ward Committees should be the mainstay of Municipal administration by helping the executive in the many matters that require local information and cannot be decided by the Commissioners at a meeting, and in relieving the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of many of the executive functions which they have not the time or the special knowledge to carry out properly. Care must, at the same time, be taken that no functions are delegated to Ward Committees which can be better exercised by the Chairman as the executive head of the entire body of Commissioners.

The Municipal Benches in the Province tried 19,668 cases of nuisance and breach of conservancy rules, in which 17,689 person were convicted against 16,604 cases and 14,730 persons convicted in the previous year. The average amount of fines inflicted on each offender varied from Rs. 6-12-4 in the Daudnagar Municipality, in the Patna Division, down to Re. 0-2-9 in the Dainhat Municipality, in the district of Burdwan.

The Commissioners of sundry "thriving" towns are admonished for neglect of means ready to their hands of raising funds required for expenditure on sanitary reforms and much needed improvements. The average incidence of Municipal taxation throughout Bengal (excluding Calcutta) was II annas 11 pie per head: in 72 Municipalities it was 8 annas or less. "From the reports received it would appear that the collection of taxes is hardly in a more satisfactory condition than the assessments." Likewise that there is a general dislike on the part of Municipal Commissioners to anything in the nature of increased taxation. In the Hughli, Chinsura, and Midnapur Municipalities there are arrears of five and six years standing, and the Commissioner of Chittagong reports arrears of 1882 still unrealized by his Head-quarters Municipal Board, which has of late years been losing from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,000 yearly, owing to want of supervision over the tax-collecting department. The moral may be drawn that a flood of tall talk is neither essential nor conducive to the progress of actual business. The Lieutenant-Governor, for his part, is of opinion that the Vice-Chairman of a Municipality may fairly be expected to devote as much care and attention to the supervision of Municipal finances as he would give to his own affairs.

In the Resolution before us, we are told that there was a total increase in the income of Bengal Municipalities of Rs. 1,79,792—nearly a lakh of it accruing from loans.

Apropos of the conservancy cess, and economy, and creation of nuisances resultant on Local Self-Government, we quote:—

In Patna the income derived from this source has fallen from Rs. 12,421 in 1887-88 to Rs. 8,992 in the past year. The tax is in force only in two wards of the city, and in these its proceeds have been continually reduced in consequence of the Commissioners exempting from tax houses which have no privies. The result has been that a constant abolition of privies has been going on ever since, and collections have been interfered with by the increasing number of applications for exemption.

As unpopular as the conservancy cess is the tax on houses and lands. At the elections of 1890 several Ward Commissioners sought election on pledges to reduce it. Water rates were levied only at Burdwan and Darjiling. The total Municipal expenditure of the province was Rs. 27,81,524, against Rs. 26,77,511,

in 1889-90. Apropos of street-lighting, we read :-

The Lieutenant-Governor desires to repeat here the remarks already recorded in reviewing the Report on the Administration of the Police

Department for the year 1890:-

"Street-lighting, which is essential to efficient watch and ward at night, has not made very much progress throughout these provinces. Not a single street in the Motihary, Maldah, English Bazar, and Chyebassa towns is lighted at night. That the people themselves feel the want of street-lights is shown by a quaint petition received by the Lieutenant-Governor on his recent tour from some residents of Faridpur, who ask for 'sufficient light in the bazaar to escape fear of robbers, and to avoid mistakes committed by constables thinking customers as thieves in the dark.' His Honor desires Commissioners of Divisions and District Officers to bring to the notice of the Municipalities with which they are concerned, the necessity of supplying adequate lighting."

A sanitary survey was made of the towns of Comilla, Burdwan, and Patna, with a view to the introduction of proper systems

of drainage. :-

The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to see a sanitary survey of every Municipality undertaken without delay, and would specially invite attention to the following orders of the Government of India:

"In regard to the general question of sanitation in Mosussil Municipalities, it appears to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council that the time has come for the prosecution of sanitary measures on a more systematic plan than has been adopted as a rule. The recent Municipal legislation has endowed local bodies with very considerable powers for the improvement of the sanitary condition of towns and villages, and has placed at their disposal considerable funds for expenditure on that object. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the money thus made available should be laid out to the best purpose on well-devised schemes of permanent utility. I am therefore to suggest to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor that a sanitary survey of each Municipality in the Province should be, with as little delay as possible, undertaken by the Sanitary Commissioner and by the Local Engineering Authorities, and that plans and estimates may be prepared of all improvements necessary to provide each town with an efficient

system of drainge, water-supply and conservancy. The plans so fixed upon should be executed from year to year as funds become available, the object aimed at being persistently kept in view until it is attained."

As the result of personal observation and enquiry:

The Lieutenant-Governor has satisfied himself that the duty of collecting and recording vital statistics cannot properly be entrusted to Municipalities in Bengal. It demands for its adequate performance more continuous care and attention than Municipal Commissioners are ordinarily willing to give to it, and it seems doubtful whether the object of recording such statistics and the necessity for aiming at a high standard of accuracy have been at all generally realised. The results at any rate are all so unsatisfactory that the Lieutenant-Governor has decided to introduce a complete change of system, and to transfer the work of registration to the town police with effect from the 1st

January 1892."

This transference strikes us as a scramble up Scylla, as the only means of escape from Charybdis. Municipal expenditure on Public Instruction amounted to the fleabite of Rs. 1,15,288. Sir Charles Elliott rules it one of the first duties of a Municipality to provide primary education for all boys, and as many girls as will accept, it and desires that, in future, Commissioners of Divisions, when dealing with the general Estimates of Municipalities, will see that provision is made for the proper performance of this duty before any funds are allotted to the support of secondary education. "A Municipality may fairly be required to provide primary education for all boys of school-going age, a number which may be taken to be 15 per cent. of the male population of the town." As to Water Supply Works, Sir Charles concurs with the Commissioner of the Presidency Division in having "no sympathy with appeals for aid made by bodies who cannot show that they have made all possible use of their own resources." Ten years ago, all charges on account of Police in Municipalities were taken over by Government on condition that the funds set free by this arrangement should still be levied for expenditure on works of general Municipal utility, and that the increased resources at their disposal should not be applied to reduction of taxation—120 Municipalities have abided by the terms of the contract; 51 have not. The frequency of cases of embezzlement of Municipal funds is referred to; they are stigmatized as "the strongest possible proof of administrative inefficiency on the part of the Municipal executive concerned."

With reference to the general working of Act III of 1884, here are some remarks tendered on the subject by the Commis-

sioner of the Presidency Division:

"From what has come before me while in charge of the division, I cannot consider Municipal administration satisfactory. Nothing appears to have taken the place of the constant supervision of the Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate, who used to spend the morning in going about noting requirements and supervising the work of the servants. It is most exceptional to find a Chairman, or Vice-Chairman

or any Municipal Commissioner, who makes a practice of riding or walking about. Servants are left to themselves, money is wasted, and work is not properly done. As regards executive action, the boon of Self-Government conferred upon the people appears to have entailed the result that work which used to be done is done no longer. The bulk of the Municipal Commissioners appear to consider that all their work is to be done in meetings and not outside. There is a general want of personal activity and energetic supervision. The work of assessment is unpopular, and the Municipal Commissioners therefore neglect it. Taxation is much below what it should be, and, bad as the work of assessment is, the work of collection is still worse. I am sorry that this report contains no return of the balances of tax remaining uncollected. There may be exceptions which have not come to my notice, but enough has come before me to create the general impression that there are very discreditable balances of arrears remaining uncollected. Municipal Commissioners do not like to be hard on defaulters, and neglect their duty in a manner calling for the strongest censure. . . Mr. Baker thinks that the tax on persons should be replaced by a tax on the annual value of holdings, that it should be assessed by a person unconnected with the Municipality, and collected by the Magistrate as the road cess is collected by the Collector. Thus an experienced Magistrate considers that the elected, or nominated, representatives of the people have shown themselves unfit to be entrusted with the duty of assessing or collecting the taxes which are to supply the funds for their expenditure, and all that I have seen leads me to agree with Mr. Baker that in this respect Municipal administration has proved a failure.

The Presidency Division lays claim to being the head centre of Local Self-Government light and leading for Bengal. In that Division Local Self-Government is written down a failure. The Burdwan Division opines that "an occasional inspection by a gentleman who knew the wants of his neighbourhood and what could be done with the money allotted for them, would often do far more good than the most assiduous attendance at meetings, where discussions are apt to be needlessly protracted, to the great inconvenience of busy men." The Commissioner of Baugulpore does not consider the record of Municipal administration during the year altogether satisfactory. Other Commissioners do, with the saving grace of a "but," and "on the whole," a qualification, here and there. The Lieutenant-Governor "considers that the record is fairly satisfactory."

Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1890-91.

IN February 1891 His Imperial Highness the Cesarewitch, happening to pass through Madras in the course of his Grand Tour, paid a call, as in courtesy bound, on a peer of Great Britain representing his sovereign in Southern India. We are unable to see what that accident of travel has to do with the administration of an Indian Presidency; but we

find it blazoned on the forefront of Lord Wenlock's notable administrative doings for the year under report. The total area of Government lands in occupation amounted to over twenty millions of acres; the highest occupancy figures on record in the Presidency. Withal, remissions and deductions on account of unseasonableness, &c., were less than those of Fasli 1298, the year which heretofore held the first place for high occupancy statistics. Revenue Settlement and survey operations were diligently prosecuted. Two new Acts came into force :- "Act II of 1890, re-enacting Acts I of 1870 and IV of 1878, and making better provision for the establishment and management of canals and public ferries in the Madras Presidency, was passed by the Legislative Council on the 24th March, 1890, and received the assent of His Excellency the Governor on the 1st April, 1890, and of his Excellency the Governor-General on the 9th May, 1890. Act III of 1890, amending the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, and the Madras Rent Recovery Act, 1865, was passed by the Legislative Council on the 24th March, 1890, and received the assent of His Excellency the Governor on the 9th April, 1890, and of His Excellency the Governor-General on the 24th May, 1890. An Act for further shortening the language used in Acts of the Governor of Fort St. George in Council, and for other purposes, was passed by the Legislative Council on the 19th March, 1891, but at the close of the year had not received the assent of His Excellency the Governor."

"The strength of the police force on the 31st December 1890 was 22,694." Fewer policemen were found guilty of assault and negligently suffering prisoners to escape; but the conviction of a fourth class inspector for giving false evidence in a case of attempt to murder, and the occurrence of four cases of causing hurt to extort confession, are held to have been "damaging features of the year's record." Although Nellore was the only district free from dacoity, there was on the whole a decrease in the number of dacoities effected, and marked improvement in the matter of detection and recovery of property. The number of factories under the Act remained stationary at thirty; 117 accidents occurred in them: on a rough average, 4 a piece, and 772 children are employed in them. 50,044 licenses were granted under the Arms Act; more than twice the number vouchsafed five years ago. The figures showing the loss of human life from wild animals fell from 290 in 1889 to 143. Leaving sub-jails out of the prison account, the number of admissions, by direct committal, was 27,316. 648 convicts were released under the remission rules, 25,455 "otherwise;" 266 of them having "benefited by education in jail." There were seventeen escapes and 227 deaths, "excluding thirty-six

executions." There was a remainder of 910 Burmese convicts at the end of the year. It is claimed that no prisoners were employed on unremunerative labour. Dysentery, diarrhæa, influenza, and intermittent fever, were the most prevalent jail diseases. Before regular courts in the mofussil 74,924 ordinary suits and 104,555 small causes were instituted—as compared with totals of 72,924 and 101,942 in the previous year. There was increase both in the amount realised after issue of process and in that paid voluntarily. Increase in the number of suits before the High Court (both sides) continued to develop. Compulsory and optional registrations both increased. Hindus registered the largest number of wills.

"There were 263 joint stock companies in existence at the close of the year 1889-90. Of these, 23 had no capital divided into shares, while the rest were working with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 3,87,22,354. During 1890-91, 57 of these companies were wound up, 51 having a nominal capital of Rs. 36,09,994, and the rest none. 9 companies increased their capital during the year by Rs. 7,04,130, while no company reduced its capital. 27 new companies were registered; 26 of these possessed aggregate nominal and paid-up capitals of Rs. 26,61,807 and Rs. 2,52,802, respectively, the remaining one having no capital. At the close of the year 1890-91 there

were thus 233 companies at work."

The strength of the British Army in the Southern Presidency was 14,158 men—1,152 more than in the previous year of report. Health satisfactory. Five venereal hospitals were worked under the voluntary system, with fair results. The Myingyan and Mandalay districts were the healthiest, and the Madras district the unhealthiest in the command. 275 horses were purchased for British Cavalry by the Remount Department, at an average price of Rs. 650 each. For sepoys a revised system of hutting was introduced, under which the State provides and maintains rent-free lines. 31,878 military pensioners were on the registers with pensions aggregating

Rs. 23,84,602.

There was increase in the number and tonnage of vessels using the port of Madras, as the result of a sacrifice of Port dues. In the case of all other ports in the Presidency there was increase in the number and tonnage of vessels, and in Port dues also. During the year of review, the weather, along the whole coast, was "abnormally favourable," and there are only three strandings and four founderings of vessels to be noticed. The total value of the sea-borne trade of the Presidency, excluding treasure and Government transactions, amounted to 27 crores and 62 lakhs—45½ lakhs better than the total for 1889-90. The total value of the trade with foreign countries fell off by nearly 75 lakhs.

Here is an etcetera quotation from the summary prefixed

to the Report :-

The Superintendent of Revenue Survey, Mr. Cardozo, made a tour in the North-Western and Central Provinces, in order to ascertain the details of the systems of survey by village officers in vogue in those provinces. On his return, he submitted a report recommending the adoption of the system in this Presidency and its application to the re-survey of the Trichinopoly district; his report was still under consideration at the close of the year. The progress made with famine analysis registers was on the whole fair. The revision of the kistbandi instalments carried out during 1889-90 afforded the most satisfactory results throughout the Presidency, the new dates conducing greatly to the convenience of the ryots. The scheme for the remittance of Government dues by means of postal money orders was under trial in five districts. The dairy farm attached to the Agricultural College at Saidapet yielded fairly successful results. Prizes were again awarded for samples of barley grown on the Nílgiris; there was a decline in the number of exhibits, but the samples were superior, for malting purposes, to those of 1889-90. 50 bushels of seed potatoes were imported from England in December 1890 and forwarded to the Collector of Nílgiris for distribution. The use of iron sugar mills continued to spread over the country, and the heavy iron cotton soil ploughs remained in favour in the Bellary district. No Agricultural Exhibitions were held during the year. Pony-breeding operations were closed in Nílgiris, but continued in Coimbatore and Salem. the number of mares covered being 509; the results, though better than in the previous year, were still far from good. Government determined to suspend all direct action in attempts to combat with disease amongst live stock; but, on a reference to the Government of India, the office of Inspector of Cattle Diseases was retained on the condition that that officer should be engaged in investigation only. Six stock inspectors were selected to undergo a special course of training at Saidapet to prepare them for their future duties when put in charge of the veterinary hospitals to be attached to the farm schools, which are to be opened in connection with the Agricultural College at Saidapet. The Cattle Diseases Act (II of 1866) was withdrawn from operation in all districts, and the Government decided not to put it in force again, except for the regulation of large cattle markets and fairs. The health of cattle was generally good, except in Godávari, Nílgiris and portions of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Cuddapah, Chingleput, North and South Arcot, Tinnevelly and Coimbatore, where pasture and fodder were generally scanty owing to the failure of the north-east monsoon. There was a decrease in the mortality among cattle and sheep from every disease except "variola."

The Departmental Forest year closed with a surplus of nearly 5½ lakhs. Expenditure on Military Public Works was Rs. 92,135. The progress made in the reconstruction of the Madras Harbour Works is declared satisfactory. It always is "satisfactory;" and the works seemingly are always in a chronic state of "reconstruction." The artesian boring at Tuticorin turned out a failure. We quote some irrigation figures and facts for the benefit of those who can understand them:—

The length of the navigable canals open for traffic was 496 miles. The outlay on the capital account of the Kistna delta system was Rs. 4,70,979, leaving Rs. 46,11,047 still to be spent to complete the

works as estimated for. The area irrigated was 463,071 acres against 433,975 acres in the previous year. The revenue derived amounted to Rs. 17.25,086 and the charges to Rs. 4,08,453, leaving a net revenue of Rs. 13.16,633, or 13'15 per cent. on the total capital outlay of Rs. 1,co,10,516. The length of navigable canals open for traffic was 284 miles. The Government of India increased the sanctioned amount for the Pennér anicut system from Rs. 18,57,333 to Rs. 18,94,833, by the addition to the provision for "direct outlay" of the sum of Rs. 37,500.

The sanction accorded to the estimates for the Periyar project by the Secretary of State in 1884, which expired in October 1889, was, in July 1890, extended by the Government of India until the 30th September

1894.

That white elephant, the Buckingham Canal, has once more been tinkered at, and allowed to absorb more public money. There were 1,764 post offices open, and 5,703 miles of telegraph lines at work. No extensions were made to the Madras and South Indian railways. Stamp revenue brought 65 lakhs; Excise and Abkari 5½ lakhs more than in the previous year. Registration receipts were half a lakh better. Incometax receipts and charges were respectively 16½ lakhs and Rs. 16,000.

Total number of births 893,745—a ratio of 31'3 per mille, and the highest birth-rate on record since registration came into force. Proportion of male births to female 104'2 to 100. Mortality 22'8 per mille. Death-rate among infants under one year old 160'5 per mille. Highest death-rate 42'7 (Madras', lowest 11'8 (Malabar). Cuddapah Water-supply project was the only important sanitary work executed by Municipalities or District Boards.

The total number of vaccinations performed was 960,560, being the highest on record for many years. Of these, 93 4 per cent. proved successful. The largest number of operations was, as usual, among children between I and 6 years of age. 19'8 per cent. of the infants born were vaccinated within one year of birth. The cost of each successful case was As. 3-3 against As. 3-8 in 1889-90. Compulsory vaccination was extended to 13 more towns. Among districts, Ganjam, Madura and Tinnevelly returned the best results, and among towns, Erode, Madras, Vizianagram and Ellore. Animal vaccination was conducted in 17 districts and 39 municipalities with a percentage of success varying with the kind of lymph used, fresh lymph (calf-to-arm) yielding the best results, viz., 97'0 per cent. in municipalities and 95'5 in districts. Dr. King's lanoline paste was experimented with, in 12 districts during the year, giving a percentage of success of 90'0.

The number of civil hospitals and dispensaries increased from 393 in 1889 to 415. There was a corresponding increase in the numbers of patients and of surgical operations performed. The death-rate, however, improved slightly. The total expenditure during the year amounted to Rs. 10,78,050. Of this amount, 34.8 per cent, came

from Provincial funds.

There were 11 first grade, and 24 2nd grade colleges. Demand for primary schools, both for boys and girls, was active. Attendance at Industrial Schools improved: four of these being

for women. All the eight pupils sent up for the higher examination for women and the middle school examination were successful. At the School of Arts there were 429 pupils, against

364 at the close of 1889-90.

The annual Government grant of Rs. 600 to the Library of Oriental Manuscripts was expended mainly in transcribing, repairing and binding old manuscripts, no new manuscripts being purchased during the year. 49 manuscripts were transcribed, including 6 Sanskrit ones (sic) which the library did not previously possess. The work of systematically cataloguing the Vernacular manuscripts was put in hand, a special grant of Rs. 1,000 having been sanctioned for that purpose.

As in the previous year, the work of the Madras Astronomical Observatory was considerably hindered by the illness of the Astronomer, and by the execution of repairs to the chief astronomical instruments; but by the close of the year all the instruments were in good working order. Vol. III of the "Madras Meridian Circle Observations" was completed, and some progress was made with Vol. IV. The time service was maintained efficiently, but no attempt was made to carry out any observations other than those required for this and for the meteorological record. The most striking meteorological features of the year were the deficiencies in the rainfall and wind velocity. The former amounted to only 56½ and the latter to 84 per cent. of the average. The monsoon rainfall was only 31 per cent. of the average.

The total number of Vernacular newspapers and magazines fell from 100 in 1889-90 to 92. Of these, 35 were in Tamil, 12 in Telugu, 9 in Canarese, 8 in Malayalam, 12 in Hindustani and 1 in Sanskrit. The "Satyadhúthan," a Christian religious paper in Tamil, continued to have the largest circulation, viz., 5,500 copies. There was an increase in the number of newspapers of a general and political

character and a decrease in literary and religious publications,

The total number of Mahomedans in superior service was 5,974,—5,046 of them holding police appointments. The percentage of Mahomedans to population is only 6.2, but the percentage of Mahomedans employed to the total number of employés was 16.4.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Montrose. By MOWBRAY MORRIS. London. Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1892.

THE "Hill of Lament," where Montrose fought and lost his last fight for the de jure Stuart King who, Stuart-like, so scurvily requited his devotion, is still remembered with something akin to reverence by the neighbouring Scotch peasantry. The very name of the great Marquis is still anathema maranatha in the ears of descendants and inheritors of those sour Scotch covenanters who, being unable to disassociate the man's loyal allegiance to an oath to the crown which they had broken, from their own fidelity to the Duke of Argyll's suzerainty, hound-

ed him to an ignominious death on the gallows.

No historical character of modern times, with the exception of Warren Hastings, has ever been worse abused, or more causelessly calumniated, than James Graham, fifth Earl, and first Marquis of his line. Scotchmen, who ought, sua si bona nôrint, to be more proud of him and his achievements than they are of Robert Burns and his lack of achievement, have left it to an Englishman, Mr. Mowbray Morris, to give to the world unprejudiced and discriminating accounts of the life and doings of their noble countryman, whose admirable qualities even Walter Scott, in his Legend of Montrose, slurred over, and, paying more regard to predominant Calvinistic dominations than to vraisemblance,—as much as he could-sank. Mr. Mowbray Thomas, being an Englishman, is free from covenanting prejudice and spleen. Being conscientious, he has taken an impartial survey of the great Marquis's career. The most serious charge brought against him (in our opinion) is that of cruelty. Mr. Morris's book makes it manifest that Montrose himself was not cruel; far from it. The anarchic times he had to try to shape and give governance to, for the Kings, were cruel—desperately, damnably, heedlessly cruel. The record of his campaigning, faithfully read, proves that Montrose always leaned towards the side of mercy, even when he was convinced that justice decreed otherwise; that vengeance was a stroke of time-serving policy that ought not to be neglected. Whenever he could, he, often at grave risk to himself and his cause, stayed and hindered rapine and slaughter. It was not always in his power to stay and hinder. The Highlanders of two hundred years ago who fought under his flag, only consented to do so on the tacit understanding that murder and plunder were what they fought for.

When, after a few months campaigning, they had had a bellyful of murdering and plundering, back they went to their Highland homes, to deposit their booty and refresh themselves

previously to beginning a new campaign.

If, after once enlisting, they would have stuck to their colours till a decisive end had been made of a campaign, the course of history might have been altered. They would not; they could not; and therefore the fruits of their leader's consummate generalship and talent for leadership were, over and over again, dissipated. It was not in man to do more with the fickle, untrustworthy fighting material at his command, than Montrose did. Marlborough in Flanders, Lord Wellington in Spain, much as they did, never got so much out of unpromising fighting material as this amateur general of two hundred years ago did from his raw, unarmed levies. Fiat justicia, ruat cælum is a saw that, relatively to Montrose's many and undismayed renewings of a hopeless warfare, comes home to ones' sense of appreciation forcefully. And if Montrose was cruel, Lord Wellington in Spain, two hundred years later, was more so; Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell in Oude, only five and thirty years ago, were more so. You cannot have war on any serviceable scale without cracked crowns, and much misery, and much wrong-doing.

It might be worth the sentimentalist's while, to perpend whether a famine, an "Act of God," inveterate and incapable of compromise, does not give rise to infinitely more misery, much more wrong-doing, much more debasement of character, than ever the worst of wars did. In the quality of mercy Montrose was, as matter of fact, a man in advance of his time and circumjacent opinion. Possibly that is why he has been—on non-conformist principles—falsely adjudged lacking in the qua-

lity of mercy.

Montrose, it seems to us, comes out of the critical ordeal approved God-fearing, self-respecting, a very noble gentleman; a gentleman always, in all stresses and bewilderments of plot and counterplot on the part of open enemies and false friends. He lived at a time when that word gentleman meant something, and was a titular distinction to be prized, and praiseworthy, as an avouchment for truth in act and word, honesty of purpose, worshipfulness of regard towards women and womanhood, willingness to uphold, against all odds, the rights of the weak against the strong. And you may, most worshipful reader, smile at what it tickles your vanity to call Quixotism. But you will only have the Quixotism for your pains. Chivalry is not dead: it never can die, as long as men and women are human.

It were to be wished that Mr. Morris had rendered full

Montrose and his wife, and done somewhat towards silencing the cruel slanders that have been circulated on that delicate subject. It has not—more's the pity—seemed good to him to do so. Excepting about a dozen pages of introduction, he has studiously confined himself to the political side of Montrose's

life, and its political issues.

Whatever may be said, or thought, anent Montrose's political opinions and actions, it will not be amiss to remember, that, for the sake of them, he ruined himself from a politico-economic point of regard. Of the three stately homes in Scotland owned by the Chief of the Grahams at the beginning of the 17th century—Kincardine in Perthshire, Mugdock in Sterlingshire, and old Montrose in Forfarshire—all went down in the storm of civil war.

And afterwards, the students, it goes without saying—since they were Stuarts, never dreamt even of anything in the way of restitution or recompense. Lady Castlemaines and Duchesses of Portsmouth, and kittle cattle of that kidney, absorbed all "spare" coin that came into the Royal Treasuries, both before and after the Restoration. With the collapse of the Montrose family's estates and residential seats, its archives went, too. So that (there is an old established and warranted heroic flavour about this) nothing is, or can be. certainly known as to the place or time of Montrose's birth, save illustratively that he was held (whether for legal devisement on other opportunist purpose, is not declared) to have been fourteen years old when his father died, in 1626. If that family tradition is held worthy of acceptation (and we see no reason why it should not be), he must have been born in some month of the year of grace, 1612. Apart from his genealogy, and derivation from a good old stock, it can matter little, in good sooth, how and when he was born: we of to-day are concerned rather with the matter and manner of his life, with his concepts of what such life ought to be, with his behaviour in acting up to such concepts. Although he was educationally well endowed, a good deal beyond the educational limits and aspirations of men who were his compeers, he was never much of a reflective man. Always, like Walter Raleigh and other good examples, he held fast tenaciously to faith in the notion that, for a self-respecting man, "the greatest action is never to be out of action." A man of affairs was Montrose; not a man of culture, as, in our time, we interpret that synonym for so much and so little—such big promisings, such æsthetically foreshortened results; beyond all else, not a man of resounding words, signifying nothing, and susceptible of a dozen different and contradictory interpretations. A man who spoke

when he had 'occasion to speak, from the shoulder, so to say. He could speak well, to the point, persuasively, when due occasion made it incumbent on him to do so. He was above all things sincere (sine cerâ). He was always a man of action, and opposed as much to the rationale of the Duke of Argyll's Chamber plots, as to their injurious effects on the Scotch Commonwealth.

As against this estimate of ours as to the character and conduct of the great Marquis, therein set, there has to be met the charge of his "right about face" from the support of the cause of the covenant in his youth, to persecution of a cause, still so styled, albeit radically metamorphosed, in his maturer years. As to which volta face, recalling to memory the undisputed facts that advancing years bring wisdom in their train, and that consistency in wrong doing after one has been made aware of the wrongness, is more blameworthy than malfaisance born of ignorance, we do not feel disposed to blame.

Mr. Gladstone, when he was a young man, saw fit to com mence his political career as an ultra High Tory, and, in sign and token thereof, contributed to the Quarterly Review an article vehemently and declamatorily defensive of the connection between Church and State. In the years that have gone by since the days of his youth, the grand old man has moved heaven and earth to compass disestablishment of the Irish Church, and, while we write (May, 1892), one of the party cries on which he beseeches from his supporters another spell of office, is the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. Critics, willing to judge Mr. Gladstone's behaviour during the last half century by common sense standards, will not incline to overmuch Montrose's inconsistencies. reprobate of real consistency, a useful sermon might be preached, with Montrose for a text, on many subjects. One of them in respect of (and respectfully towards) the godly way in which he survived and managed to sustain his individuality. He was always reverent.

In 1633 Montrose went on the grand tour, and rummaged the not then used up Continent, in search of adventure and useful knowledge, for three years. It is known that he was in France and in Italy. Not much else that it definite is set forth, in this relation; but, during this period "he is said to have continued his studies diligently, and to have particularly affected the society of learned men." Furthermore, we are informed, "he studies as much of the mathematics as is required of a soldier; but his great study was to read men, and the actions of great men." There, in two lines, you have the man's self-depicted character, desire enough for mathematics to

render his work as a soldier adequately respectable; study of character sufficing to qualify him for command; Faculty for mental expansion under fire (denied to Lord Wolseley and our heaven-born commanders of to-day) taught him (as Lord Wolseley has not yet been taught in practical fashion) that mathematics are disturbing and dangerous elements in a plan of campaign, and that wise men in war time subordinate them to a study of tactics. Bishop Burnet, whose friendship for the Hamiltons did not dispose him to exaltation of Montrose's character, says that on his return from France, "he had too much of the hero about him, and that his manner was stately even to affectation."

It should count for saving grace in an estimate of Montrose's character, that "the Covenanters, through their great mouthpiece, Robert Baillie, declared him to be too proud, too headstrong, and too wilful for their tastes." Which dictum, interpreted by latter-day lights, may be understood to mean that Montrose was too honest to pretend to be puritanical when really he was not so minded. Here is a vignette of the signing of the cove-

nant, vivid and impartial seeming:-

The place and time for the great ceremony were chosen. The time was the last day of February, 1638. The place was the church but lately raised beneath the shadow of the great castle whence had issued but a few short years previously, with all the pomp of a monarch moving amid a rejoicing people to assume the crown of his fathers, the King whose authority they were now met to renounce. Of all the historical spots in that beautiful city there is none that an Englishman surveys with more mingled feelings than the churchyard of the Grey-friars. There, at the appointed hour, came the leading members of the Tables with Warriston to read the sacred document and Henderson to explain it for any who still wavered. Loudon and Rothes spoke with all their artful eloquence, reiterating their professions of love for their religion and loyalty to their King. Then Warriston read aloud the Covenant from a parchment of an ell square. There were few doubters, and they were soon and easily satisfied. The Earl of Sutherland, the highest nobleman present, was the first to sign his name. One after another, all within the church followed him. Then, as the shadows of the winter evening deepened over the solemn scene, the parchment was carried outside and read once more to the eager crowd which thronged every corner of the churchyard. the last words were spoken-" that the religion and righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of God, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all "—all hands were raised to heaven in token of assent, while old men, in whose ears the fiery tones of Knox might have rung, wept tears of joy to see that the spirit of the great Reformer still lived among his countrymen. The parchment was then spread upon a tombstone, and all who could get near pressed forward in turn to sign it. During the next two days it was carried round the city, accompanied by a sobbing, praying multitude. Signatures came in apace from citizens of all classes and every age. Even servingwomen and little children, who could neither write nor read, pledged themselves to the good cause with the assistance of a notary. It is said that many, in the ecstasy of the moment, wrote their names in

blood drawn from their own veins. Copies were made of it, bearing the names of the chief subscribers, and entrusted to all who would undertake the office of recruiting for this holy war. Nobles and gentlemen galloped about the country with these copies in their pockets. Agents were sent round to all the principal towns and to the Universities. Ministers read aloud the call to arms from their pulpits, and exhorted their congregations to sign. Those who refused were threatened, and even violence was sometimes employed. Names are, of course, easily collected, if only trouble enough be taken to collect them. Many signed the Covenant, as many have always signed and will always sign whatever is laid before them, without any clear understanding as to what they were pledging themselves, simply because others had done so. Many signed through fear of the consequences of a refusal. But when allowance has been made for all the arts commonly employed to foment a popular disturbance, and for all the motives which have power to influence the popular mind at such times, it is impossible to doubt that, so far as the Covenant was understood to be taken in defence of the national religion, it reflected the current of national thought.

And here is the wording of Montrose's last speech in this world:—

"I am sorry if this manner of my end be scandalous to any good Christian here. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the way of the unrighteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his wickedness and malice? They who know me should not disesteem me for this. Many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind. But I must not say but that all God's judgments are just. And this measure, for my private sins, I acknowledge to be just with God. I wholly submit myself to Him. But, in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments. God forgive them; and I forgive them They have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and justice. But He that is higher than they will reward them. What I did in this kingdom was in obedience to the most just commands of my sovereign: and in his defence, in the day of his distress, against those who rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing; but fear God and honour the King, according to the commandments of God, and the just laws of nature and nations. And I have not sinned against man, but against God; and with Him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto Him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the censure of the Church. This is not my fault, seeing it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Prince's most just commands, for religion, his sacred person, and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me; and, in that which is according to God's laws, without wronging my conscience or allegiance, I desire to be relaxed. If they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is the righteous Judge of the World, and who must, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me, that I would blame the King. God forbid! For the late King, he lived a saint, and died a martyr. I pray God, I may end as he did. If ever I would wish my soul in another man's stead, it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never any people, I believe, might be more happy in a king. His commands to me were most just; and I obeyed them. He deals justly with all men. I pray God he be so dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust as his father was. I desire not to be mistaken; as if my carriage at this time, in relation to your ways, were stubborn. I do but follow the light of my conscience; my rule, which is seconded by the working of the

Spirit of God that is within me. I thank Him I go to heaven with joy the way He paved for me. If he enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it, even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or mistrust, but out of my duty to God and love to His people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. And I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my good-will to my friends, my love and charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my conscience."

Surely, it is not in such wise that Filibusters deliver what they are pleased to call their souls.

Imperial Defence; by the Right Honourable SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, BART., author of "Greater Britain," and "Problems of Greater Britain" and SPENSER WILKINSON, author of "Citizen Soldiers," and "The Brain of an Army." London, Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1892.

THE introductory chapter of his Imperial Defence is the most valuable portion of Sir Charles Dilke's latest contribution towards the all important subject with which he deals. He says:—"A State may make every concession compatible with its own existence, that is, with a proper performance of its own functions, but it cannot surrender its existence, or abandon its work." This sounds simple enough. Abraham Lincoln and the men backing him up could see it plainly enough thirty years age. If Mr. Gladstone were not Mr. Gladstone, all Englishmen preferring honesty to party politics would be able to see it now. Sir Charles Dilke's argument gains adventitious strength from the fact of his ranging himself in the Radical ranks, and being—in spite of all actually done and said and rumoured to have been done and said—one of the leading men in that political division.

To follow Sir Charles Dilke all through his argument, would seem to many of our readers, precis writing, based on leading articles in the *Times* the *Standard*, and other leading exponents of English opinion of the last two years, or five years, or fifteen. Albeit there is no plagiarism, or anything approaching to it. It is only that, when the national pulse is stirred, all true Britons think alike, and, without thought of collusion, attune their speech to the same key. Somewhat of Sir Charles Dilke's argument we must, however, in justice to him, set forth in his own words. Treating of the abstract desirability of intimate and friendly international relations, he writes:—

There may, however, be a divergence of interests, real or supposed, which will carry with it a loosening of the tie, and which may even so far prevail as to outweigh or obscure the advantages of co-operation. It may take the shape of a direct opposition of interests, so that the two parties may come into conflict with one another. In

that case the task of restoring the community of purpose devolves upon the two governments. Where the interests at stake are of subordinate importance, a settlement is effected by concession, by compromise, or by arbitration. Is there not, however, a point beyond which the State cannot go in compromise or concession? A State may make every concession compatible with its own existence, that is, with a proper performance of its own functions; but it cannot surrender its existence or abandon its work. What, then, in the last resort, is the specific function of the State; the purpose for which it exists? The State represents the common good of its citizens. It is the basis of their higher life. It secures to its subjects the only possibility for the exercise—for the full development—of their faculties. It supplies them with the ideal aim of a common good, It may continue to exist so long as its individuality and its independence are maintained. But no nation can submit, without self-effacement, to the orders of another. The first duty of a State is to preserve its own freewill, and in its dealings with other States to maintain at least a formal respect for their sovereignty.

When, in 1870, the crown of Spain was provisionally offered to a Hohenzollern prince, and the French government communicated to that of Prussia its objections to the choice, there was nothing improper in such communication, for which, indeed, precedent could be found. The reply that the prince had withdrawn his candidature was, however, sufficient. The further demand of the French government, that the King of Prussia should promise for the future not to allow any similar candidature, was not unnaturally interpreted in Germany as an attempt at dictation, that is, as an affront to the sovereignty of Prussia. If the object desired had been a settlement, in accordance with French susceptibilities of the succession to the Spanish Crown, it could have been obtained by friendly negotiation.

The possibility of conflict, the fact that we may at any moment be confronted with the obligation to stake our existence in order to preserve our spiritual integrity, is not removed by refusing to perceive it, and applies no less to the nation than to the individual. A community does not sacrifice or modify its political and social institutions in deference to a wish from outside. To challenge these institutions is to provoke a conflict. And such a challenge can

perhaps not always be declined.

We may remark here that Sir Charles Dilke is never to be found wanting in apt examples and illustrations from the history of our own day, in support of his contentions. One chapter in the book treats of "The Peace of India," another of "The North-West Frontier." Sir Charles discusses these vital questions, not à la mode Mr. Caine and sensationalists, and still less after the manner of the run of globe-trotters, who flatter themselves that they can see and know all that it is profitable to know about India from a first-class Railway carriage window, but from a statesmanlike point of regard.

Sir Charles Dilke is not one of those who believe the conquest of Kábul impossible for a European Army. Afghan resistance alone, he says, would in no case prove a really serious obstacle, if either England or Russia were bent on it. In Herat, and Afghan Turkestan, a single decisive defeat of the Afghan forces would, he thinks, settle the matter. In the Kabul

region there would probably be a vigorous rising after the annexation; but a Power determined to hold the country would crush this rising so relentlessly that it would never be repeated.

It goes without saying that Sir Charles Dilke falls foul of the Army system in vogue, and its costliness, especially in

home charges. Here is one part of the indictment :-

The Indian accounts show under the heading "Regimental pay, allowances and charge for the European army," a sum of £849,588 paid to the Imperial Government. Of this amount £197,000 were arrears from previous years. The remainder is the "sum to be received in aid of army estimates to meet the home effective charges for the regular forces serving in India," which, in the British Army Estimates, figures at £700,000 in 1890-1, and at £750,000 in 1891-2

This is the price that India pays for its British recruits, in addition to the cost of their sea-voyage out and home, and of their pay while on passage. It is a monstrous price to pay. It exceeds the whole cost of the general staff and administration of the two Indian armies; it equals the amount charged in the English Estimates for the Volunteer force, or for the Militia service. It amounts to about £75 for each English soldier received by India, that is, it is more

than three years' pay for each man.

Transference of the entire control over the Indian Military system from the war office in London to the Government of India, is advocated. In a few words, reversion to the system that obtained under the Honorable East India Company's regime. Why not? It worked admirably while it lasted; and no one old enough to be able to compare now and then will say that it did not give us a superior fighting machine. It was much cheaper. As to the danger of Mutiny that induced the regimental reorganizations of the early sixties, and entailed on India the expense attendant on becoming a nursery, a school, for Queen's troops, the proportions that were to have kept the balance of bayonet power in European hands as against Native hands, have been laughed to scorn. Including Independent Native States in the reckoning (from which they cannot safely be left out), there are in Hindustan at this day more recognised battalions of Sepoy troops fit for service than there were in 1857-58; much more fit for service, since their drill is not whitewash. The moral is that a resuscitation of the old European Army (local), if only as a counterbalance, would give assurances of safety, economy, and esprit de corps (not a contemptible element in estimates of fighting power) of which the short service system, and other innovations have deprived the Empire.

Sir Charles Dilke has ideas and suggestions as to the management of the Home Army. Let Lord Wolseley and the War Office bury their own dead: the Calcutta Review is not presently concerned with them. We may say, however, that Sir Charles (judged by the light of the Lord Wantage Committee, if by no other) appears to be at least as well informed

on his subject as the War Office is.

Humanity in its Origin and early Growth. By E. Colbert, M. A., formerly Superintendent of the Dearborn Observatory, and (ex-officio) Professor of Astronomy in the (old) University of Chicago. Chicago: The Open Court Publish-

ing Company, 1892.

THE ostensible object of this curious work is to trace out the development of man and his beliefs from the beginings of animal life to recent times, one of the conclusions to which the writer comes regarding the latter, being that man's religious creeds and ceremonies, together with much of his philosophy, grew out of notions based on the results of observation of the stars. The chief moral which Mr, Colbert deduces from his enquiries, is one which might have been arrived at from data of another kind, and by a different method of reasoning, viz, that "motion is essential to life and competition to progress." "When a man, a community, or a nation ceases to struggle," says the author, "it not only ceases to rise in the scale, but begins to sink. This is equally true of competition in business, emulation in study, reach of invention, and even of contests for national superiority. The stagnation of air or water breeds disease, and in the vegetable and animal organism decay sets in close to the time when the growing period terminates. It is so with communities, peoples, races, worlds, universes. Hence peace is an idle dream, unless as it is a rest between exertions, or a retiring from the conflict. It is not to be attained otherwise than temporarily, except at the cost of deterioration or the ceasing of the existence which it is desired to perpetuate,—whether that be of the individual or the mass. Activity, motion, is life. Peace, rest, is decay. How it may be with another life, we know not; but for this and it is a necessity of the constitution of material organisms —there is no standing still."

The writer's main conclusions regarding the origin and progress of man are, that he is the result of a chain of developments beginning with the Eozoön and proceeding through many stages, the last of which was the ape; that he rose from the ape level, in the first instance, as a result of climatic vicissitudes, due to glacial changes; that most of the subsequent stages in his early progress originated in a like stimulus, and that the assumption of the skin of an animal, as a protection from cold, was the first progressive act. The period during which this change took place, he considers to have been certainly inter-glacial, and probably not less than 80,000 years ago, the subsequent glacial epoch intervening between palæolithic and neolithic man. During this epoch, he believes, palæolithic man persisted as a low type, "probably following the edge of the ice sheet, though not closely."

Then came a series of smaller oscillations of land and water between the two hemispheres, the last of which overwhelmed and drowned many of the River Drift men, and accounts for the gap between them and neolithic man in the Northern Hemisphere. All this time, however, the Southern Hemisphere was tenanted by human beings, some of whom made considerable progress in intelligence; and, at its termination, neolithic men came in to the Northern hemisphere from the neighbourhood of the equator, as the surplus waters gradually moved southwards. The first use of cereals as human food must, he thinks, have taken place in a region where they grew naturally and abundantly, and this was most probably Chaldea, where it was preceded by the use of dates. "It can hardly be doubted," says the author, "that the date formed the first important variant from the use of animal food, owing to the fact that it grows without cultivation and needs not to be prepared by cooking or otherwise for use by man. Also it may be stored so as to carry over a supply from one time to another. It is noteworthy that, while the date palm will grow and furnish valuable wood (lumber) further north than about 35 degrees, that latitude is near the limit of its fruit-producing capacity, and this consideration renders it probable that the early migrants to Mesopotamia did not go so far north as Assyria.'

Writing was first pictorial; then ideographic, and then alphabetic, the earliest form of the latter being, perhaps, not more than 4,000 years old. No written history is entitled to to be regarded as sacred, except as being hallowed by lapse of time; and the miraculous element which abounds in the more ancient histories deserves no more credence than the

tales which children tell one another.

The child's idea that as a baby he was found under a current bush is fully as philosophical as that of the Jewish historian who made it out that Adam was created fully grown in the Garden of Eden, and that Eve was manufactured out of one of his ribs while he slept. But why should we expect anything better? And why feel called upon to believe anything so logically bad? Yet we may just as well and wisely accept that as the Scripture story that "there were giants in those days," while neither is a whit more absurd than the Grecian tales about gods and demi-gods, the latter being the progenitors of the first real mortals. The thought of the adult in the infancy of the race was hardly more logical than that of the individual child of to-day. With both the process of thinking back to a supposable origin ends in a mental fog. The simile is a happy one. Anybody who has been in a dense fog will remember how difficult it was to discern objects at the distance of a few feet, and how those sufficiently near to be visible seemed to be vastly bigger than the normal size. This is because the fact of indistinctness carries with it the idea of distance, and the object seems to be larger on account of that delusion, precisely as in the case of an apparently larger sun and moon when near the horizon. Now, this was exactly the situation of the

people of several centuries ago when they tried to peer through the mists of tradition towards the beginning of their race history. Those of their ancestors who were so deeply in the fog as to be just inside the limit of traditional remembrance loomed up as gaints, heroes, demi-gods. A smaller edition of the same mental weakness may often be met with to-day. Otherwise well informed people will deplore the supposed fact, that all the great men are dead, with no one to take their places, even should necessity arise. No poet, orator, playwright, statesman, soldier or astronomer can hope to compare otherwise than unfavorably with some of those who have gone before. Our fathers and grandfathers (that is, some of them) talked in precisely the same way; and so did their ancestors, back through the generations without number. The only difference lies in the fact, that the earlier the comparison, and the less extensive the information, the more was the supposed superiority exaggerated, and that is the reason why we now read of giants and demi-gods descended from the skies to take their places among mortals.

The first objects of worship were the stars—the Elohim of the Hebrew scriptures, Jah-veh being identifiable with Jupiter.

The sun and moon were not at first looked upon as deities, since it was easily ascertained that to a crude observer their apparent motions were regular. The two luminaries always seemed to move in one direction among the stars, while the other (five) planets were sometimes retrograding and at others moving direct, with no discovered reason for their changes of direction or place. And, in consonance with this idea, we find the most ancient of the astrological aphorisms noting the sun and moon as "significators," representing the individual or thing under consideration, which was supposed to be "affected" according to the different ways in which the luminaries were aspected by the planets as "promittors." Strong traces of this are preserved in so much of the Grecian mythology as has come down through the ages to us, though its accounts belong to what we may call the Pleistocene era of astrological thought, in which the earlier inorganic strata had been built up to form personal organisms. Thus, Apollo (of the sun) ranked among the gods, but he was far inferior in power to the ponderous Jupiter, (Zeus Pater, the father god), and to Saturn before the latter was deposed from the throne by his Jovian offspring; while Diana, the goddess of the moon, did not compare in importance with Venus, or even with Juno except at a disadvantage.

"B'reshith bara Elohim" are the three first words of the Hebrew Bible. The third is in the plural form. It is translated "God," but incorrectly, as every Hebrew scholar well knows. He may not feel quite sure as to what would be the proper equivalent, but he knows it is not that. It is impossible to deny that the word should be understood to mean more than one, though no number is stated. It may mean a trinity for aught the word tells to the contrary. But it does not. It simply means a company of Gods, who made the heavens for their own abiding place, and the earth for man to dwell on. They made the sun and moon, and "the stars also," the latter forming the asterisms from one to the other of which the planets move as the Elohim Tzabaoth, or lords of the host of heaven. That is what the planets were, to the early Shemitic fancy, and their supposed work is told in the first chapter of Genesis and the first three verses of the second. Then begins a coupling of Jehovah with Elohim. The compound is absurdly translated "Lord God," when it should really be read as designating a Being who is the chief of those planefirst paragraph in an extended history; as the first few books of the Old Testament are little more than a recount of the struggle by Jove or Jahveh for pre-eminence, and the sufferings of those poor mortals

who did not recognise his claims to superiority.

The days of the week were named after the planets, Saturn, or the resting planet, furnishing that for the seventh day, originally a Babylonish festival, regulated by the course of the moon. The Hebrew account of the creation and the deluge were taken from the Chaldean writings. The prediction of the coming of a Messiah, or Deliverer, was purely astrological, and was made for each of the several nations.

The belief that the movements of the stars governed the affairs of men was well nigh universal, and soon led up to the priestly knowledge and use of planetary cycles; whence the theory that, after a stated number of years, when the planets or stars got round to certain positions, there was a grand catastrophe, followed by a recovery through the appearance of some great one

as a Deliverer.

The Jewish Messiah was expected to appear when the principal brilliant in the constellation of the Virgin should be carried across the celestial equator by the precession of the equinoxes; this movement being preceded by a conjunction of the planets Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. That gem in the hand of Virgo was "The Star of Bethlehem." Jesus was a historical character, though his history was confused with that of many of the gods of other lands than Judea. He came on earth at the time computed by the Bactrian Magi, but the gospels, as we now have them, were written many years after his death and by men who invented stories of miracles for the purpose of making it out that "He fulfilled all the prophecies," and, in order to build up the power of the church.

The constructive portion of Mr. Colbert's work contrasts strikingly, in the inadequacy of the data on which it is based, with the force of his destructive criticisms, which, from a rationalistic standpoint, is generally unanswerable. Statements of all degrees of value are piled upon one another in bewildering profusion, and with little or no attempt to discriminate between what is firmly established and what is disputed, or purely conjectural. Thus, the facts that the River Drift men were inter-glacial, and the neolithic men post-glacial, which rest upon a vast mass of consistent geological and archæological evidence and are generally accepted, and the assumed fact that the last glacial period occurred at least 80,000 years ago, which is based on an unproved theory of the cause of glacial periods, and still remains to be harmonised with a great body of geological evidence, are stated with equal assurance; while, as to the statement that the first upward step of man from the ape-level was the taking to himself of clothing in the shape of the skin of an animal, it is purely speculative.

As we said, at the outset, the ostensible object of Mr. Colbert's work is to trace the history of man's development. There is ground, however, for suspecting that, underlying this purpose, there is—we will not say an ulterior, but—another,

purpose. Chapter XX is suggestive of something more than an arrière pensée in favour of "that antiquated doctrine which is now generally supposed to be a long since exploded delusion of olden times"—judicial Astrology. It is true that much of the pleading in favour of the claim "astra regunt homines" is put into the mouth of a third person; but, in the summary appended to the book, the chapter containing it is represented by a passage which leaves no doubt as to the author's own views on the subject.

"A great deal," he remarks, "may be said in justification of the old fashioned idea of stellar and planetary rule over the affairs of men; and, when they laugh at it, the Churches of this generation ridicule that which constitutes a most impor-

tant part of the foundations of their faith."

"Et tu, Brute!" will surely be the exclamation which, with reference to the logic of the last sentence, will rise to the lips of the reader who has followed the destructive arguments brought to bear, in the body of the work, against the world's

popular beliefs.

To remove all doubt about the author's astrological leaning, we may add that he prefaces the pleadings of the third person already referred to, by a statement that the late Richard Antony Proctor, in his "Other Worlds Than Ours," "unwittingly conceded the very strongest of all the purely theoretical pleas that have been advanced in justification of the theory," and

the following is this precious plea:—

"If a great naturalist like Huxley or Owen can tell, by examining the tooth of a creature belonging to some long extinct race, not only what the characteristics of that race were, but the general nature of the scenery amid which such creatures lived, we see at once that a single grain of sand or drop of water must convey to the Omniscient the history of the whole world of which it forms a part. Nay, why should we pause here? The history of that world is in truth bound up so intimately with the history of the universe, that the grain of sand or drop of water conveys not only the history of a world, but with equal completeness the history of the whole universe. . . . In fact, if we consider the matter attentively, we see that there cannot be a single atom throughout space which could have attained its present exact position and state, had the history of any part of our universe, however insignificant, been otherwise than it has actually been, in even the minutest degree. . . . Obviously, also, every event, however trifling, must be held to contain in itself the whole history of the universe throughout the infinite past and throughout the infinite future. For every event, let its direct importance be what it may, is indissolubly bound up with events preceding, accompanying, and following it, in endless series of causation, interaction, and effect.'

Obviously, however, if every event, however trifling, contains in itself the whole history of the universe, past and future, which we are not concerned to dispute, the fact is no more an argument in favour of the possibility of reading that history in the stars, than of reading it in one's neighbour's eyes, or in an apple on the nearest tree. The fact is, it is not an argument in favour of astrology at all, the elements of the problem involved in the computation of one state of the world's history, or any part of it, from another, or any part of it, being infinite, and, therefore, transcending human powers of apprehension, even if the laws of the calculation were, or could be, known.

Hastings and the Rohilla War. By SIR JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S I. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

In Manzoni's novel, I Promessi Sposi, Renzo says, "Surely there is justice in the world somewhere;" and the far from cynical novelist's commentary is:—" So true is it that under the influence of a great misfortune men no longer know what they say." Sir J. Strachey's book, Hastings and the Rohilla War, should please those faithful souls whose pleasure it is to believe that truth always prevails, and justice is always done—sooner or later. Following on Sir James Stephen's Story of Nuncoomar, styled by Sir Henry Maine "the first attempt to apply robust, careful and dispassionate criticism to this period of history," Sir John Strachey's further justification of Warren Hastings fully exonerates that much misrepresented statesman from the indictment preferred against him by Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and the leaders of the Whig party in England, a hundred years ago.

It proves, from State papers and undisputed facts, the falsity of the whole of the charges brought against the great Proconsul in connection with the initiation and conduct of the Rohilla War, and demonstrates that the English army was not hired out for the destruction of the Rohillas; that those Rohillas, described by Burke as belonging to "the bravest, the most honourable and generous nation on earth," were no nation at all, but a comparatively small body of cruel and rapacious Afghan adventurers, who had imposed their foreign rule on an unwilling Hindu population, and that the story of their destruction is fictitious. James Mill's version of the Rohilla war is, in the light of a less partisan enquiry, as much exploded as his account of the judicial murder of Nancoomar by Impey and Hastings.

'The great criminal in this matter was James Mill, whose history, "saturated," if history was ever so saturated, "with party politics," is ordinarily accepted to this day as the standard and veritable history of British India. His "excessive dryness and severity of style" (Sir James Stephen says) "produce an impression of accuracy and labour, which a study of original authorities does not by any means confirm His want of accuracy is nothing to his bad faith. My experience is that, when he makes imputations, especially on lawyers, he ought always to be carefully confronted with the original authori-

ties,"

I should have hesitated, even on such authority as that of Sir James Stephen, to accuse a historian not only of inaccuracy but of bad faith, if I did not feel that I had qualified myself to form an independent opinion on the subject. I have personally had occasion to investigate the facts of perhaps

the worst of the crimes of which Hastings has been accused, the sale and extermination of the Rohillas. Several years of my Indian service were passed in the province of Rohilkhand. When I was first sent there, old men were still living who remembered having heard in their childhood the story of Hafiz Rahmat, the great Rohilla Chief, of his defeat by the English and his death. I went to Rohilkhand without a doubt of the truth of the terrible story told by Burke and Mill and by Lord Macaulay in his famous essay, but I soon changed my opinion. I found myself in the midst of a population by which the history of those times had not been forgotten, and of which an important and numerous section consisted of Rohillas, the children and grandchildren of the men whose race was supposed to have been almost exterminated. I was in frequent communication with a Rohilla Prince who ruled over a considerable territory which his ancestor owed to Warren Hastings, and which had been in the possession of his family ever since. No one had ever heard of the atrocities which to this day fill Englishmen with shame. Later in life I was able to undertake an examination of the original authorities on the Rohilla War, and I can hardly express in moderate language my indignation at the misrepresentations, the suppression of truth, the garbling of documents, of which I found that Mill had been guilty.

Sir John Strachey is studiously respectful in his attitude towards Lord Macaulay. But he points out that there is not an important fact in the famous essay on Warren Hastings not derived from Mill's History; and it was "unfortunate," he says, that Macaulay accepted Mill as an authority deserving

the fullest confidence.

Having regard to the obligation historians lie under, to be painstakingly conscientious, we do not see our way to the very lenient judgment our author passes on a man setting himself up as a just judge, who deliberately allowed himself to be led by the nose by the plaintiff's counsel. The ill men do, lives after them. English people are to this day misled by the brilliant *Edinburgh Review* essays into false and damaging notions as to the nature of British rule in India; and students in Indian schools and colleges have been still more mis-

chievously led astray by them.

The first chapter of Sir John Strachey's book briefly sketches the corrosion of decay in the Mogul Empire before the death of Aurungzeb, and the rise and growth of the Mahratta power, and shows how protection of British provinces against that conquering tide was the key to Hastings' Foreign Office policy. 'Rohilla'; it is postulated, is a word signifying mountaineer, or 'highlander.' The ancient name of Rohilkhand was Katehr: it is one still in common use. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Afghan settlers had become numerous in Katehr: on the disintegration of Empire that ensued after Aurungzeb's death, one of their leaders, Ali Mahomed, rose rapidly to power, and became founder of the short lived rule of the Afghans in Rohilkhand. His capital was Aonla, in the Bareilly district, where his tomb may still be seen. He was never secure on his throne, always fighting for it with some one -Mahrattas, the Emperor's troops, or other Afghans.

The Rohillas were never a nation, as Burke and Francis were

always insisting; no more a nation than Australian squatters are. As to their being, as Burke said they were, an industrious peasantry, "distinguished by skill in the arts of peace," they are integrally to-day, as a race, what they were a hundred years ago; and this is what Mr. Ibbetson, in his Report on the Census

of the Punjab, writes of them :-

'The true Pathán is perhaps the most barbarous of all the races with which we are brought into contact. He is bloodthirsty, cruel and vindictive in the highest degree; he does not know what truth or faith is, insomuch that the saying, Afghán be imán, has passed into a proverb among his neighbours; and though he is not without courage of a sort and is often curiously reckless of his life, he would scorn to face an enemy whom he could stab from behind, or to meet him on equal terms if it were possible to take advantage of him, however meanly. Here are some of his proverbs: "Keep a cousin poor, but use him." "When he is little, play with him: when he is grown up, he is an enemy; fight him." "Speak good words to an enemy very softly; gradually destroy him root and branch." At the same time he has his code of honour, which he observes strictly. It imposes upon him three obligations: the right of asylum, which compels him to shelter and protect even an enemy who comes as a suppliant; the necessity to revenge by retaliation; and openhanded hospitality to all who may demand it. And there is a sort of charm about him, especially about the leading men, which makes one forget his treacherous nature. As the proverb says, "The Pathán is one moment a saint and the next a devil." There is an air of masculine independence about him which is refreshing in a country like India. He is a bigot of the most fanatical type, exceedingly proud and extraordinarily superstitious."

Following Burke, Mill, &c., Macaulay referred to the Rohillas as "an injured nation," "the finest population in India," &c., assuming them to be, in so many words, an Indian population. Here is Sir John Strachey's corrective to this misleading pre-

sumption :-

When Macaulay compares the actions of Shuja-ud-daula in Rohilkhand to those of Catherine in Poland and to those of the Bonapartes in Spain, the reader assumes that the position of the Rohillas was similar to that of the Poles and Spaniards, that of an injured people violently oppressed by foreign invaders. Every one who has lived, as I have done, in Rohilkhand, knows as a fact that requires no evidence of its truth, that to apply such language to the Rohillas is nothing less than absurd. It would be less inaccurate to compare the position of the Rohillas in Rohilkhand with that of the Russians in Poland, or with that of the French in Spain in the time of Napoleon. The three cases had at least this in common, that in each of them a body of foreign soldiers was more or less successful in imposing, by violence and bloodshed, its rule over a large and unwilling population. The Rohillas were as much foreigners in Rohilkhand as Frenchmen in Spain or Russians in Poland.

A misconception, noteworthy, if only because of its ridiculous-

ness, is set right in the following quotation:-

The 'rhetoric and poetry' of which Macaulay tells us the Rohillas were not negligent, deserve a brief notice, for the apparent origin of this statement is curious. Throughout nearly the whole period of the rule of the Rohillas, their most prominent chief was Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The term 'Hafiz' was, as I have already said, a title signifying 'Guardian,' given to him when he was made by Ali Mohammad the chief guardian of his children and of the State. By one of the many absurd mistakes of the time, Hafiz Rahmat was supposed by some of the enemies of Hastings to be Hafiz, the famous Persian poet of the fourteenth century. It was as if, in a history of the Irish Viceroyalty of Lord Spencer, he was credited with the authorship of the Faerie Queene. Law, in his opening speech in the Defence of Hastings, referred to

this absurd blunder. 'Hafiz Rahmat,' he said, 'had been particularly lamented, not only as being a great prince, not only as an hereditary one, but on account of his gallantry, his soldier-like qualities, and also as a poet. I have read an ingenious publication on the subject which states his being celebrated throughout the East on account, not only of his valour, but for the beauty of his poetic compositions. Hafiz is a great poet, but this man, so far from being a poet, if he had not signed this treaty, I should have doubted whether he could make his mark.'

It suited Burke and Francis to assert that replenishment of his treasuries was the sole object with which Hastings undertook the Rohilla War, and Macaulay repeated the calumny, blaming the greedy Directors of the E. I. Co. for their greed, as well as blaming their (suppositiously) too facile instrument, " Govern leniently, and send more money; practice strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money." This was the sum of most of the instructions Hastings got from the Board of Directors at home. It is to his credit that he withstood them as he did. Sir John Strachey devotes a chapter to the actual objects with which the Rohilla War was undertaken, and shows that while acquisition of money was admitted by Hastings to have been a subsidiary reason with him, security against Mahratta invasion was the primary and all powerful one. War, in fact, was forced on him by what he himself called "a gradation of events." In his defence before the House of Commons, he said—

'Thus it appears that, by a regular and natural gradation of events, the Government of Bengal found itself entangled in the first movements of a war which it had sought to avoid, but which was in its principle and object defensive, and though extending beyond the line of its prescribed operations, had been recently marked out as an exception by the Court of Directors, in their General Letter of the 28th August, 1771, which is that to which the Select Committee alluded in their instructions to Sir Robert Barker of the 30th of April; and that, whether the measures which led to this crisis of affairs were right or wrong, or whether the events which produced it might, or ought to have been directed in another direction, I myself have no concern in either question. The movements of the machine (if I may be allowed the figure) had received their first impulse from other hands, before the charge of it could be affirmed in any sense to have devolved to mine, and were independent of me. In this state, progress, and direction, I received the share allotted to me in its management; and to these, even in the subsequent conduct of it. my judgment was necessarily compelled to bind itself, whether I approved the past or disapproved it.'

Sir John Strachey adduces ample documentary evidence in support of this contention. It is too voluminous to be more than mentioned here. Room must however, be found for part of Sir John's summing up. After justifying Hasting's conduct on grounds of international policy and regard for the interests

of dependent peoples, his apologist writes—

If, however, we were to ignore considerations of this kind, and assume that Hastings was morally bound, in his dealings with the Vizier and the Rohillas, to conform to a standard of conduct as high as that recognised by civilised nations in their dealings with each other, I believe that, even tried by this high test, his action was entirely justifiable. If a similar case were now to arise, we should have to answer the following question:—Where a State or its ally is in danger of invasion and ruin by another State, and the

only practicable mode of preventing such invasion is by forcibly seizing the territory of an intermediate State which is either too weak or too treacherous to prevent its territory from being used for hostile purposes by the invaders, is the threatened State justified in forcibly seizing that territory? The authority of great jurists and great statesmen might be quoted in support of an affirmative answer, and the justice of that answer might be enforced by

historical precedents and analogies.

If this be true, it must à fortiori, be true if the case be judged by a lower standard. But the relations subsisting between Hastings, the Vizier, the Marathas, and the Rohillas were too essentially unlike the relations of European states to make such a discussion profitable. The question of morality, if it is to be argued, can only be stated thus: - Is a British governor justified in making war upon a confederacy of barbarous chiefs, who, not long before, had imposed their rule on a population foreign to themselves in race and religion; through whose country the only road lies open for attacks by savage invaders upon a British ally, whose security is essential to the security of British possessions; who are too weak and too treacherous to be relied on to close this road; and who have injured that ally by breaking a treaty with him, negotiated and attested by a British General, and approved by the British Government? Upon such a question there can hardly be much difference of opinion. The only reasonable answer is that, in such a case, the supreme duty of a governor is to make the dominions under his care secure from foreign attack; that, if Hastings believed that the security of the British provinces depended on that of Oudh, he was bound to take measures of precaution against a common danger; and that, if he found it impossible to reconcile the protection of Oudh and of British territory with the maintenance of the dominion of the Rohilla chiefs, he was right in the conclusion that their dominion must cease.

Problems in Greek History By J. P. Mahaffy, M. A., D. D. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin; Knight (Gold Cross) of the Order of the Redeemer; Hon. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Author of 'Prolegomena to Ancient History,' 'Social Life in Greece,' 'A History of Classical Greek Literature,' &c., &c. London, Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1892.

many-sided literary man is Professor Mahaffy, who has dabbled in Kantian philosophy, and written Essays on the Decay of Modern Preaching, and the Principle of the Art of Conversation, and published sketches of a Tour through Holland and Germany; but his speciality, what he puts most of his heart into, is study of the life and thought and history of the old world Greece; relating to which he has put forth several expository books, all of them brightly written, all of them bearing the impress of considerable reading, and honest independence of though. The of last the series is *Problems in Greek History*, now lying before us; a book which, we may say at once, well sustains its author's previously won reputation for scholarship, catholical criticism, and literary ability. Professor Mahaffy is in all respects well equipped for the undertaking he set himself, even down to the matter of personal visitation of the sites, local inquisition into the tradition that was his building material. Freeman could not have reproached him, as he reproached Froude, with failure to

make himself acquainted with the locale of his plots, the surround, ings of his antique cameos. He studied the myths, the records, the occurrences, with which he had to deal, on the still classical ground which had been their primitive home. Apropos of primeval myths, it is refreshing to find him pronouncing judgment unreservedly against the mist and cloud phantasmagoria

of the Max Mullerian school of interpretation thereof.

He prefers Busolt's History of Greece and Schuchardt's account of Schliemann's Excavations, as safer and less far-fetched guides, and they determine the Homeric culture to be younger than the Mykenæan. Professor Mahaffy, doubtful whether the antiquity of the Homeric poems is "materially established" by these newer German researches, suggests 800 B. C. as an approximate date for them, and considers that the man who brought dramatic unity into the Iliad, did far more than string together, and make intelligible, older poems. "He made the old life of Mycenæ into the newer Ionic life of Asia Minor.

Professor Mahaffy has studied deeply the bearings on the national life of heredities and transmissions; but it appears to us that he inclines to regard it as more national and less tribal than it actually was. But then he suggests* that history is not an exact science. The Greece of his "Problems," after the mythic period has been disposed of, is for the most part Athens.

And in his treatment of Athenian politics he is utterly opposed to Grote: his sympathies are never with the Demos. He is at pains to keep us in mind that old world Greek democracies were, one and all, slave-holding, essentially aristocratic States, and that, for each freeman with a vote, there were at least three or four slaves. For which reason, such States can in no wise be compared with modern democracies of artisans and labourers, who have to do their own drudgery, and have no servants to speak of; whereas even very poor Athenians kept a slave or two, and by that means were saved the worry of much troublesome or degrading manual labour; "and so the Athenian or the Tarentine, even when poor and over-worked, was, in a serious sense, an aristocrat as well as a democrat: he belonged to a small minority ruling a far greater population. Still more eminently was this the case, when the democracy was, like Athens or Rhodes, an imperial one, ruling over subjects, or allied with smaller polities which were little better than subjects.

"Holm argues that under Pericles the poorest citizen was paid by public money for doing public duties, and was thus above all care concerning his daily bread. But when he adds that by this means Pericles succeeded in making the Athenians in one respect (materially) equal to the Spartans, in that

See page 43.

they could be (if they performed public duties) noblemen and gentlemen like the latter, he surely overstates the case. The traditions of a landed aristocracy are wholly different from those of salaried paupers, however great may be the power wielded

by these latter, or the privileges that they enjoy.

Still, leisure, even when it owes its generation to slave-holding, may be promotive of culture amongst citizens who could not enjoy it without the intermediation of Gibeonites to hew wood and draw water. In this respect the Greek artisan may have been better off than his modern counterpart: in another he was decidedly not so. For though, as against individual fellow citizens, the laws secured him equality and justice, against their demands collectively, as a State, he had no redress. The State theory required that all citizens should be regarded simply as the property of the State. Such procedure as appeal to a High Court of Judicature against the decree of the assembly, would have been regarded as absurd. It is pointed out that all the great Greek historians, from Herodotus onwards, the tragic poets and comic, the followers of Socrates, the literary and thoughful men generally, all gave evidence of their dislike to democracy. In fact, only theorists of the Platonic school adhered to it theoretically. Professor Mahaffy writes-

The politicians of modern Europe, who are repeating gaily, and without any sense of its absurdity, the experiment of handing over the British parliamentary system to half civilised and hardly emancipated populations, and who cry injustice and shame upon those who decline to follow their advice—these unhistorical and illogical statesmen might well take lessons from the sobriety of Greek politicians, if their own common-sense fails to tell them that the forest-tree of centuries cannot be transplanted; nay, even the sapling will not thrive

in ungrateful soil.

The consensus of educated Greek opinion on the subject is surely noteworthy, and in connection with that, there ought to be remembered, as to the old world conceptions of Liberalism, the absence of all idea of representation, of all delay or control by a second legislative body, of the veto of a constitutional sovereign, all which lackings render the strong consistent Hellenian verdict agsinst democracies inapplicable by analogy to modern Republics. As to mob fitness for bearing rule, our author says, and his remarks have special applicability to Indian National Congress nostrums:—"How can we expect uneducated masses of people to direct the course of public affairs with safety and with wisdom? It is certain that even in the small, easily manageable, and highly cutivated Republics of the Greeks, men were not educated enough to regard the public weal as paramount, to set it above their narrow interests, or to bridle their passions. Is it likely, then, that education will ever do this for the State? Are we not following an ignis fatuus in setting it up as the panacea for the defects of our communities?"

Our author is fond of parallels and comparisons of old world lessons with modern instances. Thus we find him writing, apropos of the attempts of Demosthenes to arouse Athenian suspicions against Philip and "the mortal sin of apathy:"

I cannot avoid citing a parallel from contemporary history, which is by no means so far-fetched as may appear to those who have not studied both cases so carefully as I have been obliged to do. The Irish landlords, a rich, respectable, idle, uncohesive body, have been attacked by an able and organized agitation, unscrupulous, mendacious, unwearied, which has carried point after point against them, and now threatens to force them to capitulate, or evacuate their estates in the country. It has been said a thousand times: Why do not these landlords unite and fight their enemy? They have far superior capital; they have had from the outset public influence far greater; they have a far stronger case, not only in law, but in real justice: and yet they allow their opponents to push them from position to position, till little remains to be conquered. Even after a series of defeats we tell them still, that if they would now combine, subscribe, select and trust their leaders, they could win. And all this is certain. But it is not likely that they will ever do it. One is fond of his pleasures, another of his idleness, a third is jealous of any leader who is put forward, a fourth is trying underhand to make private terms with the enemy. A small and gallant minority subscribe, labour. debate. They are still a considerable force, respected and feared by their foes. But the main body is inert, jealous, helpless; and unless their very character be changed, these qualities must inevitably lead to their ruin.

Again, of the disinclination of the cultured classes to sacrifice their leisure to the turmoils and base admixtures of politics—consequently left to the poorer, needier, more discontented classes, who turn public life into a means of gain and notoriety, and set to work to disturb the State, in order that they may satisfy their followers, and obtain fuel to feed their own ambition, it is written:—

Let me state a modern case. The natural resources of America are still so vast that this inevitable result has not yet ensued. But whenever a limit has been reached and the pinch of poverty increases, we may expect it to arise in the United States. Even the Athenian democracy, when its funds were low and higher taxes were threatened, hailed with approval informations against rich citizens, in the hope that by confiscations of their property the treasury might be replenished.

This is the heyday of the demagogue, who tells the people—the poorer crowd—that they have a right to all the comforts and blessings of the State, and that their pleasures must not be curtailed while there are men of large property living in idle luxury. Such arguments produce violence instead of legal decisions; the demagogue becomes a tyrant over the richer classes; the public safety is postponed to private interests; and so the power of the democracy, as regards external foes, is weakened in proportion as the harmony among its citizens is disturbed.

The story of Alexander the Great's conquests, civilizings, imaginings is well told; the after story of dilettantism, decay

and disintegration even better. Towards the close of the book it is written:—

§ 85. We have come to the real close of political Greek history,—at a point upon which historians have been unanimous. And yet the Greeks would hardly have been worth all this study, if the sum of what they could teach us was a political lesson. They showed, indeed, in politics a variety and an excellence not reached by any other ancient people. But their spiritual and intellectual wealth is not bounded by these limits; and they have left us, after the close of their independence, more to think out and to understand than other nations have done in the heyday of their greatness.

Professor Mahaffy helps greatly towards this desirable thinking out and understanding. His *Problems in Greek History*, besides being an informing book, is bright, clever, eminently readable from the first page to the last.

The Monist. A Quarterly Magazine. Editor, Dr. Paul Carus. Associates, Edward C. Hegeler; Mary Carus. Vol. 2 No. 3, April 1892. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.

THE current number of The Monist is less interesting than usual. Mr. Charles S. Pearce's attack on the doctrine of necessity, which occupies the fore-front of the number, is merely a re-statement of old arguments in a new form. These arguments are of two kinds, 1st:—that as long as our examination of events in the universe is not exhaustive, which it never can be, there is room for the operation of pure spontaneity, or, in other words, of will undetermined by antecedents; and, 2ndly: —that, owing, on the one hand, to the multitude of unexplained departures from exact conformity to law in the events which we have examined, and, on the other, to the imperfection of our means of observation, which makes it impossible for us to predicate more than an approximation to such conformity in the case of any event that we may examine, all that we are entitled to claim as experientially proved, is the existence of an element of regularity in nature. On the other hand, à priori arguments, like that of the inconceivability of chance, are no proof.

These objections are, of course, truisms; but to accept them as a basis of reasoning, is to cut away the foundation for all reason whatsoever. To take only the last of them, the laws of space and number are all resolvable into the principle of identity, and those which concern the succession of events into the law that like antecedents are followed by like consequences; but to deny either of these principles would be equivalent to affirming, not that there may be chance, but that

all is chance.

As, however, the Editor promises to answer the article in a future number, we need not examine it further here.

The article on Psychical Monism, by Dr. Edmund Montgomery, is an attempt to show, that "a monistic interpretation of nature cannot possibly be reached by assuming consciousness or intelligence to be ultimate reality," but "only by recognising that consciousness is a function of subjects that stand in definite relation to the rest of nature, and have power, along with the other constituents of nature, so to affect the sensibility of other sentient beings as to cause to arise therein the symbolical representation of themselves." It seems to us, however, that these two views are capable of being harmonised.

In the article on "Criminal Suggestion," Prof. J. Delbouf maintains that persons in a hypnotic condition preserve at least a sufficient measure of their intelligence and freedom of action to prevent them from committing deeds which neither their conscience nor their habits approve of, which is as much as to say that suggestion never amounts to obsession, but only

to a certain bias towards the act suggested.

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited by the REV. H. J. SPENCE GRAY, M. A. April 1892.

THE Indiau Church Quarterly Review is always replete with pertinent matter. A thoughtful and haply influential paper, in the April issue, is the Archdeacon of Bombay's, on Educational Teleology. From a lay point of view, the most noticeable article in the number is the Rev. O. D. Watkin's,

on "Remarriage of converts, and mixed marriages."

Mr. Watkins assumes that "the attitude of the Christian Church towards the marriages of persons outside her bounds would naturally follow the attitude of GOD towards the marriage of the chosen people. Narrow-minded, prejudiced and unseemly traditions derived from Judaic sources, instead of from Christ—Judaisms grafted on to Christianity—do more, it seems to us, to alienate the intelligence of modern times from ordinary church teaching than any amount of Ritual Commissions, or such like confessions of weakness, from a merely State point of regard, could. Mr. Watkins cites Scripture and the Fathers on behalf of his argument, which is unimpeachable from a church point of view, but from a practical one, unworkable, and likely to result in grave scandals. Practically, Mr. Watkins admits this:—

As regards the marriage of baptised Christians with persons not baptised, the cases of S. Cæcilia and Euphrosyne show that such marriages, notwithstanding the Apostolic precept, were sometimes sought by Christian parents for their daughters; the case of Marcia is probably also a case in which a Christian woman was united to a heathen husband, in what the Church treated as marriage, though by the Roman law it was recognized "concubinage"; Tertullian says that certain Christian women in his day had married "Gentiles"; and

the strong protest of S. Cyprian was called forth by his feeling that the practice of such marriages was to be ranked among the causes which brought about the Decian persecution. While, however, the occurrence of instances of mixed marriages is undeniable, they appear to have been distinctly against the mind of the Church. S. Juliana and S. Susanna preferred death to marriage with an unbeliever. S. Cæcilia resisted her marriage probably for the same reason.

A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb, edited in the original Persian, and translated into English, with an Introduction and Explanatory notes, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M. A., M. D., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Persian to the University of Cambridge. Volume II, English Translations and Notes. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge: at the University Press 1891.

TO some philosophically given minds it is given to undertake study of the ways, means, and idiosyncracies, social differentiations, and so forth, of the people living round about them, with view to a hope of amending unfortuitous conditions in that living. Other philosophers incline to pasturages further a-field, and more promising, from a wholesale publisher's point of regard. Mr. Edward G. Browne is one of these; and, accordingly, in 1887, he set sail for Persia, with a view to becoming historian of the Bábi heresy-or, as he prefers to call it-Movement in Persia. His enterprise has culminated in 425 pages of print that seek to justify the Anarchism of the Bab. They also embody an account of his travels, better calculated perhaps to win attention than a laborious attempt to whitewash malefactors, and a confused account of the principal tenets of one of those newfangled. though old established, Arabian Schools of thought that Hafez and Omar Khyam have brought within Western world ken. Embryo lecturer in Persian to the University of Cambridge, Mr. Browne went to Persia with a receptive mind. adroit Persians, the Bábi esoterics whose acquaintance he cultivated, crammed him with their one-sided views; and he appears to have accepted their jaundices and prejudices as Gospel truths. That, it appears to us, is the only efficient moral derivable from Mr. Browne's 425 pages of print. They are lavishly bedecked with Persian character-in print. They do not seem to us helpful towards an attempt at accurate knowledge of Persian dissents from orthodoxy in religion, or trustworthy picturings of Persian politics.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Kavi Giridharakrita Mahâkavi Joydever Gita-Govinder Prakrita Padyânubâd. Corrected and edited, with Notes, by SHYAM LAL BYSACK.

TOYDEVA is a famous Sanskrit poet, and his "Gita Govinda" is now classed among the immortal productions of the great poetic geniuses of the world. The poem has been translated into English prose by Sir William Jones, into English metre by Sir Edwin Arnold, into Latin by Professor Lassen, and into German by Rückhert. A Bengalee metrical translation of the "Gita-Govinda" by one Rasamoy Das has long existed, but it is neither so literal nor so elegant as to deserve to be considered the best possible Benlgaee rendering of the great poem. No one ever imagined that a translation of the Gita-Govinda by an unknown poet of the name of Giridhara. far superior to the rendering of Rasamoy Das, had existed in manuscript since A.D. 1736, till it was brought to light by Babu Shyam Lall Bysack, who has edited the poem with copious and valuable notes of his own. It is a pity that little is known of the life and character of Giridhara, who must himself have been a poet of no mean order, as his exquisite metrical translation of the "Gita-Govinda" unmistakeably testifies. In a letter announcing the presentation to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, of a copy of Giridhara's translation of the Gita-Govinda, Babu Gourdas Bysack shows that the poet made the translation at the desire of a Vaishnava, and that, "Joydeva's songs being popular, it is probable that Babu Bharat Chunder Bysack, an ancestor of the editor by the maternal side, who was known a learned and pious Vaishnava, desired Giridhara to translate them into Bengalee, so that they might be set to music and sung by him in his own tongue." Whoever Giridhara was, and whatever may have been his object in translating the poem, his rendering indisputably entitles him to be ranked among the best lyric Bengalee poets of the old school. We find that some of the noted Bengalee authors of the day, who are distinguished for their critical powers, have unanimously declared Giridhara's translation to be a real gem and an acquisition to Joydeva's literature. We have no hesitation in endorsing the high praise thus bestowed upon the production, and we must express our best thanks to the editor, Babu Shyam Lall Bysack, who has rendered an invaluable service to Bengalee poetic literature, by unearthing Giridhara and publishing and editing his translation in a form that, we doubt not, will be acceptable to the reading public of Bengal.

Prem Chunder Tarkabâgisher Jivan Charita O Kabitâbali. By RAMAKHAY CHATTERJEE. Printed at the Banerjee Press' Calcutta, 1892.

DREM Chunder Tarkabagish was one of the most distinguished Sanskrit scholars of Bengal during the early and middle parts of the century, and occupied the chair of Rhetoric in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta for 32 years with great distinction. Some of the greatest Oriental scholars, such as Horace Hayman Wilson, Professor E. B. Cowell and James Prinsep, held high opinions of the abilities and worth of the Pundit. He rendered great help to James Prinsep in deciphering ancient inscriptions in Pali and Sans-He was a noted commentator of some of the immortal Sanskrit poems, and was himself endowed with no mean poetical powers. His services for the improvement of Bengali literature are not to be slighted, as, in those early days of English education, few were the men who thought it worth their while to bestow time on the cultivation of their much-neglected mother tongue. As a man, Prem Chand was gifted with some of the noblest qualities of the heart, without which public virtues and the highest intellectual endowments are often a mere delusion. Taken all in all, Pundit Prem Chunder Tarkabâgish was one of the greatest souls that Bengal has ever produced—one who certainly deserves the honor of being immortalised in a biography.

The department of biography in Bengalee literature is exceedingly poor, not simply in respect of the number of books on the subject, but also in the sense that the few biographical works published in the language are not distinguished by the qualities which make a biography instructive, interesting and valuable; throwing light on the state of society of the time to which the individual who forms the hero of the work belonged, The life and poems of Prem Chand Tarkabagish, though not a model of a biography, is still much above the general run of ordinary biographical works published in Bengalee. The author has not merely narrated the events in the life of his hero, but recorded various facts which have a bearing on the social and religious condition of Bengal in his time. The anecdotes given, few though they be, add to the interest of the work, and help to make the character of the man as clear to the reader as possible. We are, however, sorry to note that in places the writer indulges in praises of the Pundit which overstep the limits of truth. For example, in noticing the demise of Prem Chunder, he says that with him poetry and warm-heartedness departed from Bengal! We have a right to expect that English educated writers in Bengalee should be above the practice of indulging in absurd oriental hyperboles, so common to old Sanskrit and Persian authors.

Manipore-Prahelikâ. By JANAKI NATH BYSACK. Printed at the Bina Press, Calcutta 1298. B. E.

TS a brief but comprehensive account of Manipore, its people and the recent rebellion in that little State, the leading facts of which are still fresh in the public mind. The author, Babu Janaki Nath Bysack, had been a resident of Manipore for a couple of years before the rebellion broke out. He had, therefore, peculiar opportunities for acquainting himself with the affairs of the State as they stood before the recent imbroglio. He was also a careful observer of the events and incidents that occurred during the rebellion, and latterly distinguished himself by the energetic manner in which he conducted the defence of Maharajah Kula Chunder and Senapati Tikendrajit Beer Singh, before the Court of Special Commission. Mr. Bysack is thus well qualified to write an account of Manipore and the rebellion which brought it recently into prominence, and made it the subject of talk all over the civilized world. The chief recommendation of Mr. Bysack's production is, that he records what he has come to know by personal observation, investigation and inquiry. Although, in his description of the physical features of the country and the manners and customs of the Manipuris, he hardly gives any important facts not known before to the readers of the official accounts of the territory, or the descriptions of it written in English by European visitors and travellers, his narrative of the rebellion contains statements which will be new to the public. The book has thus a political phase which we shall not discuss. As an interesting and readable account of Manipore, it will be an acquisition to the historical department of Bengalee literature, although, it must be admitted that the author's style is not so polished and accurate as that of the best Bengalee writers of the day.

Sâdhanâ, Prâchya O Pratichya. By DWIJENDRA NATH TAGORE. Printed at the Adi Brahmo Somaj Press.

Is a brilliant essay by a veteran Bengalee writer. The author institutes an elaborate comparison between the tendencies of modern society in India and in England, and arrives at the conclusion that, to the Indians, the great incentive to work is a love for their kin and caste people, while to Englishmen it is the love for their mother country, that forms their chief inspiration. Mr. Tagore very truly remarks that patriotism is a much higher incentive to work than mere love for one's kith and kin, and that the former

Revivalist movement of the day, which he, with much reason, characterises as a sham, a snare and a delusion. The writer holds up before his countrymen the character of Rajah Ram Mohon Roy as an ideal for them to follow, he being a man who, though a Brahmin, combined in him the Occidental spirit of patriotism with the best features of the Oriental character. Babu D. N. Tagore's essay is eminently suited for the times, and it may be hoped that it will have a corrective influence on the perverted tendencies of the day, to uphold the worst superstitions and the most absurd prejudices of popular Hinduism, and to denounce European science as the source of all possible evils.

Sâdhanâ. A monthly Magazine. Edited by SUDHINDRA NATH TAGORE. For Jaistha. 1299 B. E.

THIS monthly Magazine is six months old, but within this brief period of its existence, it has well established its claim to a very high place in the ranks of the Bengalee periodicals of the day. It is a fact no less remarkable than it is encouraging, that the Sadhana is edited, managed and almost wholly written by the young members of the family of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, who are distinguished for their devotion to the improvement of Bengalee literature. The stories, poems and articles of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore, who is unquestionably a man of genius, and the essays of Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore, the distinguished Bengalee metaphysician and brilliant thinker, published in the Magazine, form its chief attraction. It cannot be doubted that the Sâdhanâ, if conducted with the marked ability which it has so far displayed, will render no mean service to the improvement of Bengalee literature.

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